

# THE EXAMINER.

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## THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer it would be to tell him his fate. If he resolved to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiased truth let him proclaim war with mankind—neither to give nor to take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men they fall upon him with the iron hands of the law; if he tells them of virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides, and then he may go on fearless; and this is the course I take myself.—*Dr. Fox.*

### THE FALSE PRETENCES.

The political Pharisees strain at a gnat, and will not consent to swallow anything less than a camel. The men of moderation are seized with a sudden aversion to half measures; more or none is their cry. They cannot abide anything fragmentary. At parts of a whole they will not look; they must have the whole before them, however large and unmanageable in mass it may be. They cry for more than can be done, in order that nothing may be done.

The next complaint is that Government has begun at the wrong end; but is there any right end of a thing hated? The cart is put before the horse; but which is cart, which horse? Redistribution would certainly never draw the franchise. A bill for redistribution will have to deal with things fixed, while the proposed franchise is a fluent quantity. Both might have been taken together if the voracious craving for a full meal of Reform and the loathing of the piecemeal could have been anticipated; but if one was to go before the other, it was clearly the settlement of the constituency before the distribution of the representation. That is the rational order of proceeding. But never before did we see a great debate turn altogether on a question of method, and the quarrel is fastened on the road which really attaches to the destination. If the Opposition were sincere they would express themselves in the rant of Sheridan's Rollo, "We want no change, and least of all such change as you would give us." That really embodies the whole truth. There is indeed a profession of acquiescence in Reform or submission to it as to an inevitable calamity, but this resignation is at an end when the reality appears. In one of Lewis's tales the lover, to compass an elopement, induces his beloved to assume the guise of a bleeding nun supposed to haunt the castle, but, instead of the sham, to his horror he meets the real apparition, and a dreadful scene follows. And the substitution of the real for the sham is what now scares the Tories. Lord Elcho protests that he is no enemy to Reform, and in proof refers to his support of Lord Derby's bill, but that was the heroine dressed up to pass for the spirit whom he could meet and escort with all gallantry and affection; but now he is face to face with the real spirit, and loves it so little that he would gladly lay it in the Red Sea.

Lord Elcho disavows enmity to the working classes, and we believe him; but his friendship for them will not carry him so far as to incline him to elevate them to the status of citizens. The fault he finds with them is one never to be cured, that they are so many. The franchise is extending itself, he says; anomalies of inequality are increasing. The franchise is extending, as seamen say lawyers go to heaven, in a very sluggish, reluctant way; and as for the increasing anomaly of inequality—what inequality can be greater than that of the political inferiority of the intelligent, independent artisan to the petty shopkeeper? Lord Elcho knows which is the worthier, and his only objection to him is that he is one of many as deserving as himself. But here we have a new doctrine propounded by Sir H. Cairns, that fitness is a minor consideration in settling the franchise, and the balance of power the main point. So that, intellectually and morally, the men may be quite fit to be entrusted with the suffrage, but it is not fitting that they have it because it is to be feared it would make a predominance of fit men, which would be highly dangerous. A little learning was once called a dangerous thing, but highly multiplied worth is now the dangerous thing. The people outside the electoral pale are good, but then the good are so many, and great caution must be used lest the good should obtain preponderance, the consequences of which are terrible to contemplate. It is necessary to have strainers, so that goodness should not pour in in great quantities and deluge us.

Mr Laing has another doctrine, that the 10*l.* franchise is a lever to elevate the working classes. We do not exactly see the leverage, but we suppose it is meant that they have only to climb over the 10*l.* fence. It is thus an acrobatic exercise, something like the soaped pole with the prize of a pair of breeches or leg of mutton at top; but then, as Mr Milner Gibson observes, if the people are to be raised by a high franchise, the standard ought in consistency to be advanced instead of reduced, and a 20*l.*

[LATEST EDITION.]

qualification would have exactly double the virtue of the 10*l.* But we want these people to freshen the constituency whether they can climb or not. They are wanted as people are wanted to serve on juries, and the consideration is not so much what they will get to satisfy them, though that is important, as what the commonweal will get from their having a part in public affairs. And when a list is made out of persons competent and qualified to perform the responsible duties of jurors, is fright taken if the number be large, and is there any care, any thought of classes, any apprehension that one class preponderant would favour their own class, and do injustice to others? In a pure electoral system the elector's duty would be strictly analogous to the juryman's duty, and the suffrage would be given as conscientiously as the verdict; and a verdict indeed it would and should be, but we are far from that ideal perfection, and shall perhaps never arrive at it or near it. At present the pestilent notion is too prevalent that the franchise is for the personal benefit of the possessor, and those who have been instrumental in corruption have to answer for that false and vicious idea of the elector's privilege. There are only two modes of purification—the ballot and the infusion of new blood; and Mr Milner Gibson well observed upon Mr Lowe's account of his speech relating to the working classes—

I believe the extension of the franchise which has been proposed by the Government is a moderate and safe extension of the franchise, and that it will introduce some new blood into our electoral registries which will be of great benefit to the State. I even take the argument of my right hon. friend the member for Calne, understood according to his most recent explanation. What I understand him to say is this—As you go down in the present constituencies you get to a more corrupt class. But he said the great body of the working class outside the present constituencies are remarkable for their prudence, perseverance, and other good qualities. What, then, can you do better than dilute this poison which you say exists in the lower grade of the constituencies by an infusion of the more respectable portion of the artisans? I believe you may confer very great benefit on all classes of this country by calling to your aid an increased number of the working classes. I believe that you will find that they will be less corrupt. It has been said they will be more so; but I say I think, on the contrary, there are no set of persons so little likely to be corrupted as the independent artisans. I think they are the class of men who are most likely to give an honest vote; I believe they are the class of men who are most likely to give an independent vote; and even if the most extraordinary and unlikely contingency should occur that we should pass this Franchise Bill before we deal with the redistribution—an event extremely unlikely to occur—I cannot see, any more than the hon. member for Westminster, that we should have a worse Parliament because a moderate number of intelligent artisans has been added to the existing constituencies—a number which would not form any majority whatever, but only a fair infusion. I cannot see why a Parliament elected by constituencies so augmented should be a bad Parliament, or one unable to deal with redistribution or any other question.

### THE BÊTE NOIR.

There is a homely old saying, that too much of a good thing is good for nothing; how much worse, then, is too much of a bad thing, such as the perpetual harping on Mr Bright. The fly in the pot of ointment is always Mr Bright. In former times, and not very long ago, crimes were ascribed in indictments to the instigation of the devil; and now-a-days Mr Bright is railed or sneered at as the instigator of all evil. To proceed in Reform step by step is wrong, because he thought it right; and it is ruled absolutely that he must be marshalling the way to revolution because he has spoken well of American institutions. The Government is unworthy of confidence because Mr Bright has faith in it. In short, the rule of right would seem to be simply opposition to Mr Bright, though Bacon tells us that to judge by the rule of contraries is to make another's folly the master of one's own wisdom. We have often had occasion to differ from Mr Bright, but what we protest against is making him a *bête noir* for perpetual attack in sickly sneer or spiteful invectives. It is stale, flat, and unprofitable, and it is becoming what the House of Commons most hates, a bore by force of damnable iteration. What the monotonous 'Perfect Cure' is in the haunts of the vulgar, resort to the topic of Mr Bright is in Parliament. It stops every gap in argument, and is a resource never failing for the empty and dull. "In default of any case, abuse the plaintiff's attorney," might be effective instructions for an occasion; but here we have the incessant abuse of the plaintiff's attorney, which is intolerably wearisome in default of a case. And if it taxed patience to hear Aristides called the just, how much more insupportable it is to hear Mr Bright so perpetually objurgated. What if he deserves it? some one may ask, and we answer, then do not give him his deserts if the sound of the lash be far more sickening to the hearer than the stroke of it painful to him. At all events let there be a truce, and for some space of time let it be understood that sneers, jeers, and tirades at Mr Bright are to be interdicted like certain hackneyed quotations, threadbare allusions, and worn-out jests.

But how can we hope for this abstinence when we find Lord Derby lugging Bright into a speech, and handling him with the most commonplace irony. Of Lord Derby it cannot be said that his poverty, not his will, consents, for

he is not often in want of matter, or, if he be, he is never in want of words to cover the deficiency. So why, in a discussion of the Oaths Bill, must he run a tilt against Mr Bright? And we confidently ask, is this strain worthy of so fine a speaker, and what temptation had he to a theme treated in a style so much beneath him:

I must observe it is rather singular that the word "defend," contained in the oath as introduced originally, should have been struck out in the House of Commons. My lords, it did so occur—I must not say in the House of Commons, but in an assembly where the bill was under discussion—that there happened to be present a member of the Society of Friends—a gentleman of a peculiarly meek and mild disposition—one who has nothing in his character approaching to pugnacity—one of those humble and meek Christians who if you smote them on one cheek would most certainly turn the other—one who, above all things, is utterly indisposed to enter on political discussions with anything like an exhibition or a demonstration of physical force. That hon. gentleman, as I understand, having for twenty years very calmly acquiesced in the word "defend," was suddenly seized with a qualm of conscience lest, in consequence of the affirmation, he should be called on to take up arms and defend the Crown. Accordingly, he suggested that there should be no room left for doubt; and, of course, it was impossible the Home Secretary could refuse to accede to such a suggestion, coming as it did from a gentleman to whom her Majesty's Government are under such obligations for his large confidence and his enthusiastic support. The right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department said there was not the slightest difficulty in complying with so reasonable a request; the House of Commons laughed; and the offensive, or I should rather call it the "defensive," word was struck out. My lords, I do not ask to put you at issue with the House of Commons on this point. I don't attach much importance to the word "defend." I should be sorry to think the security of the Crown depended for support on the defence it might receive from the hon. gentleman; and I should be extremely sorry to call on that hon. gentleman, or any other person who takes the same views, to so far violate his principles as to promise under any circumstances to defend the person of his Sovereign or the Constitution of this country.

Mr Bright was not always so despised by the party of which Lord Derby is the head. There was a time when his good word and support were much valued by Mr Disraeli, and no fault was then found with his democratic proclivities, whatever they may be. His aid was accepted without any questioning as to ulterior objects. Sufficient for the day was the service thereof. And any party must be glad of the support of a man of Mr Bright's great powers. The only misfortune is that his influence is not proportioned to his powers, because of some defects of judgment and temper. But in these respects he is improving as he is brought into line with a party, and he may yet retrieve all indiscretions, and make himself as great a leader as he is an orator. And his career will not be stopped or impeded by the incessant buzzing of insect politicians who harp on the one string, that the wrong and Bright are identical, and that to agree with him about anything is to be condemned. It must be an uneasiness to these little folks even to think that Mr Bright's arithmetic is their arithmetic, if they have any, and that he and they hold in common that two and two make four. Let them keep their prejudices and antipathies; all we ask is that they may not make so monotonous and wearisome a noise about them.

### ANOTHER WEEK WASTED.

The Tories have a game to play against time. Being in a minority, their only chance lies in wasting the session until it becomes impossible to complete even one chapter of Reform this year. They wish, moreover, to avail themselves of every chance that may diminish the numerical strength of the Liberals or add to their own. The two things are not always identical or even connected. At Totnes, as at Reigate, the Whig was displaced without having a Tory seated in his room; while in Cambridge, the anti-Reformer having been unseated on a point of official disqualification, the election, contrary to all principle and precedent, has been declared void; and a new contest is thus entailed on the University town, in which Mr Forsyth may be replaced by Mr Gorst. The fate of other petitions is likewise pending, some if not all of which may affect the balance of parties for the moment; and if by skill or good luck the Carlton can abate, to some extent, the certain defeat on the second reading, which it knows it cannot avert, an additional motive for procrastination and faction will be afforded to all who would thwart Reform. The resources of loquacity are inexhaustible; and we for our part see no physical reasons why the present thing called a debate should not go on till May-day. Very much the same kind of tactics was tried in 1831, when the discussion on a single stage of the first Reform Bill lasted seven nights. Few hear and nobody minds what is said within the walls of Parliament. Speeches, even the best, are not supposed to make converts there; the preponderant weight of truth, reason, and eloquence may be on one side, but personal and party feeling decides what waverers will do without or in spite of all these. The "Cave of Adullam" is said to grow fuller and fuller. This may be true or it may not; but it never was a very big cave after all. And it must, we should think, be, with an atmosphere poisoned with spite, an unwholesome place, unfit to dwell in for any length of

time. The real use of argumentation in Parliament on an occasion like this is the effect produced on the public mind gradually and almost imperceptibly. Trimming and time-serving adherents of faction get persuaded, not upon the spot but through the post, their constituents being convinced first, and they themselves in due course of time. It is not the pleasantest process of conversion, but it is a silent and sure one. It went on so slowly thirty-five years ago when the former great struggle took place, that the first division, as may be remembered, was decided by a majority of One, and the second by a majority of Eight. But the rate of logical conviction became marvellously accelerated thenceforth, and the Tories were never able to master, after General Gascoigne's fatal victory, within a hundred of their triumphant antagonists. We are by no means clear that a close run, or a momentary repulse, would not be the best thing that could happen to the too easy-going friends of Reform just now. What would it signify? If the question be worth fighting for at all, the nation would take it up, not in Bristol or Nottingham fashion—heaven forbid!—but deliberately and doggedly and decisively. And if not—what? Why, clearly the sooner it is put to bed and tucked up for the rest of our lives the better. As to the notion of coaxing or wheedling any half corrupt and Conservative Parliament into voluntarily reforming itself in calm and tepid times, we take that to be political moonshine. The genteel jobbing of a great empire is far too great a thing to be thrown away in vague respect for abstract right or compliance with any far-fetched theory of what may be best for the country twenty years hence. What in the world has a fox-hunting fool of quality or a veteran railway contractor to think of the permanent weal of posterity when he is about to vote at one in the morning? Two or three letters from stiff-necked constituents twice a week, or even twice a fortnight, have in them a thousand times more persuasion, eloquence, and power; and it is through these ministering spirits alone that his conversion on the subject of franchise or re-distribution can ever be reasonably expected.

For our parts we should not in the least take to heart the loss of the present measure, provided it were brought about by the unmixed folly alone of its wrong-headed opponents, and that there were no unworthy or treacherous aids and abettors of the act of suicide. It is as certain as that each succeeding tide goes higher and higher that frustration this year would secure a better bidding and a larger bill next session. Parliamentary politeness and constitutional etiquette forbade Mr Gladstone to say this in so many words in his speech when moving the second reading; but his warning of "be wise in time" had no other meaning, and was felt to have none. We believe it is in the power of our friends, not merely those now in office, but independent members of both Houses, by taking a manlier and more outspoken tone, to aid materially in shortening the struggle. We confess we do not understand, far less do we approve the manner in which the controversy has been thus far conducted. With two or three exceptions the representatives of important towns have been thrust aside to make way for well-meaning but weak mediocrities, who could testify to nothing but their own anxiety to keep in the Ministry. We must say plainly that this sort of thing is out of place and out of time. Each popular constituency throughout England wants to know what any other popular constituency thinks and feels at the present crisis; and it is worse than folly to try by temporizing to appease the rancour of open enemies or to recover the allegiance of intending deserters. There has been a want of firmness and faithfulness of tone in the discussion generally, which has not been compensated for in any degree by comprehensive or careful reasoning. The speech of Mr Mill is an exception; but exceptions when few and far between are the most expressive reproaches for the non-observance of a rule. We want to know in plain terms to what cause we are to attribute the absence in debate of so many tried and trusted advocates of popular opinion. To doubt their sincerity and readiness to do as they have often done before, is impossible. What then? Why have their voices not been heard? Day by day we have seen the spirits of the party droop, and its best friends turn away in disgust. If Lord Russell and Mr Gladstone are really to be sustained, and if Reform is not to be suffered to fall through, it is time there should be an end of this. The hour is critical, and plain-speaking has become a duty.

#### JASSY.

Events in the Danubian Principalities are even more rapid and stirring than either at Vienna or Berlin. Austria and Prussia continue to chaffer, but hesitate to strike. Neither wants war. But Prussia would have the Duchies, and Austria will not yield them without getting at least the southern district of Silesia. As neither will yield, the antagonism continues.

The convulsion in the Roumanian provinces was considered to be connected with the German quarrel. One circumstance would seem indeed to represent a serious connection between them. The Moldo-Wallachians have selected, and indeed elected, the second son of the Prince of Hohenzollern to be Hospodar. The Prince of Hohenzollern belongs to the Royal family of Prussia. The Hohenzollerns are nevertheless Catholic. The father of the newly elected Hospodar was chief of the Prussian Ministry, when that Ministry was Liberal, and not given to the extravagance of Bismarck. He and his family abdicated their sovereign rights in 1849 in favour of the King of Prussia. One of

the brothers has married an Infanta of Portugal, a Saxe-Coburg. An aunt of the Hospodar married the Marquis Pepoli, who, we need not say, is connected with the Murats and Bonapartes. It was not, however, for his connections that the Prince Charles of Hohenzollern was chosen, but simply because the Roumanians were glad to snatch at any young prince of a fairly liberal character who would accept the position.

The position will be no easy one. The Conference is not prepared to sanction the election of a foreign prince. Russia, Turkey, and Austria all strenuously object. But in truth they have no valid reason. If what is most to be dreaded be that the Prince of Moldo-Wallachia should set up an independent Power hostile to the Porte, a native Roumanian is much more prone to do that than a German prince. For he would share the aspirations of his countrymen, which the German does not. In fact, there are but two alternatives, a foreign prince, or a republic with temporary rulers,—annual consuls for example. Native Roumans might govern and be elected in this way, but their prolonged power would excite too many jealousies. And we have seen in Prince Couza's case that no native could permanently hold the office of prince, unless he tried the system of tyranny and terror, which itself would be but short-lived. The Conference therefore, for its own purposes, and with its own views, had best allow the Roumans to follow out their own tendencies, which are really not opposed to the collective wish of Europeans. They are well satisfied with the political *status quo*, provided their internal administration be left to themselves. The difficulty is, not merely to persuade the Conference to do this, but to compel the neighbours of the Roumans to let them alone.

The little revolt or insurrection which took place on the 15th at Jassy was certainly the product of Russian money and Russian agents. The Russian Government has probably little to do with it; but Russian agents are full of activity and zeal. Since the hour of Prince Couza's fall they have been striving to bring about the separation of Moldavia, and the making it over to a Leuchtenberg. Within a league of the Russian frontier, Jassy is full of Russian subjects. Constantin Mourouzi, the leader of the late insurrection, calls himself so. The Mourouzis are old Fanariots, have been Hospodars, and by consequence are rich. He is a grandson of that Mourouzi who delivered Bessarabia to the Russians in 1812, and lost his head for the act. His brother Alexander Mourouzi, Nicholas Rosnovano, a very young and rich Boyard, and Latzeski, the director of the Russian post-office in Jassy, were the principals, and contrived to associate with them the Archbishop Mieleseo. The prelates of Roumania, all taken from Greek convents, are universally Græco-Russ. It was Latzesko, who holds high rank in the Russian Tehin, who held the meetings of the conspirators at his house. Their great encouragement was the promise that 50,000 Russian soldiers would cross the frontier, under pretext of preserving order, if the movement proved successful.

On the 15th Stefan Goleseo, the Prefect of Jassy, was surprised by the appearance of a band of two hundred men, chiefly Greeks and Russians, who raised a cry before his residence demanding the nullification of the late elections, and the appointment of Caimacans or governors of each province, in lieu of the existing Government. Rosnovano was in the crowd, and so was Archbishop Mieleseo, in his pontificals. The police made a rush to seize the leaders, when the mob retreated, the chiefs to the palace of Rosnovano, which they barricaded. A Moldavian regiment, the only one in Jassy, soon appeared before that palace, and surrounded the conspirators. They were answered by musket shots, to which they replied. But the siege was short. The Archbishop had ordered the tocsin of the Cathedral to be sounded, but the people paid no attention to this known appeal. And the conspirators were soon forced to abandon the palace which they had undertaken to defend. Several managed to escape to the not distant frontier of Bessarabia, others were taken, especially the prelate.

We may judge of the hopelessness of a cause which had recourse to such frantic and futile means. If the Russian cause of separation had any chance of success it was at Jassy, amidst the populace and troops of Moldavia. But neither raised voice or finger to separate the Principalities or oppose the election of the new foreign Hospodar. A more decisive verdict of the national or provincial will could not have been given.

#### THE PROPORTION OF ENFRANCHISED WORKPEOPLE.

The statement that twenty-six per cent. of the working classes are already enfranchised has been much dwelt upon by the opponents of Reform, and has, indeed, furnished them with their main argument against the pending Bill. They ask what more is wanted, and remind Mr Gladstone that he estimated the proportion of working people in the constituency at only ten per cent., and contend that, when he found the number nearly treble what he had supposed, he should have abandoned all thoughts of extension of the suffrage, the case for it having thus broken down. But no one who has any knowledge of the boroughs believes in this twenty-six per cent., and several members have given instances of the way in which people have been set down as working men who do not truly answer that description, and who really belong to the class of petty tradesmen. The right definition of what is meant by a working man is one who gains his living by earning wages

by handicraft labour. The keeper of a beer-shop, or some small tradesman who occasionally does a stroke of work for wages, is not to be classed as a working man.

Sir F. Crossley, a large employer of labour, who speaks with authority on the subject of the occupation of the enfranchised working classes, shows that large deductions must be made from the twenty-six per cent. which figure in the returns. He says:

The statement that twenty-six per cent. of the voters were working men required some qualification. Those who had collected the statistics were told that any man who worked with his hands must be recorded as a working man, whether he supported himself solely by his manual labour or by that with the addition of any profit he might make from a little shop to which his wife attended during his absence at work. That man, however, he contended, was a tradesman, and judged by this rule it was evident that twenty-six per cent. would be much decreased.

Sir F. Crossley is of opinion that Mr Gladstone's first estimate of ten per cent. was nearer the truth. But to this the opponents of the Bill will say, "If workmen in the proportion of ten per cent. can make their way into the constituency, the same road is open to all others if they will only exercise the same thrift and self-denial, 'spend less in drink and more in house rent, in short, 'obtain the 10% status.'"

And as the poodle dog is trained to jump over a stick, so the working man is to spring over the 10% fence to take possession of the rights and powers of citizenship. But then, what becomes of the bugbear combination? If the existing franchise is so easily within the reach of the working classes, what prevents their marching into the pale of the Constitution with all the powers of their dreaded organization? But certainly they have not been tempted to enfranchise themselves by the uses they might make of their powers of combination; and where they happen to be in strength in constituencies, there is as much diversity in their votes as in other classes, and no action as a united body. If there be any force in the argument against giving political power to men drilled and disciplined in combinations, it is valid against any reduction of the franchise whatever, now and hereafter, for combinations the working classes will always have. Indeed the deduction from the objections of the Opposition to the enfranchisement of working men as dangerous must be not only that they should not be admitted to the pale of the Constitution, but that those now within it should be turned out, and the whole class disqualified for ever for political rights. As for the combinations of the trades, it is their strength, and is susceptible of advantageous use, and also of abuse, like most other things; and if the door is closed against workpeople upon the assumption that they will turn their combinations to bad purposes, it may occur to them that they may use their powers of combination to force an entrance. And here again let us quote Sir F. Crossley, who knows more of the working classes than all the Opposition put together:

As to the question of right or privilege, he was of opinion that those excluded from exercising the franchise had a right to know why they were excluded, and whether it was for the benefit of the State; but he did not think they had a right to the franchise itself. The best franchise was that which would produce the best laws, and he thought the reduction proposed by the measure was justified by the progress the country had made in education, and the speeches hon. gentleman made on the hustings led him to believe that the bill would be supported by a large majority. The noble lord the member for Galway had spoken against the abolition of the rate-paying clauses. He was the first who had done so, he believed; he trusted he would also be the last. The rate-paying clauses were productive of two evils. The collectors were generally partisans, and collected accordingly; and it was also known that on some occasions electors who had refrained from paying their rates had been presented with a receipt in order that they might vote. This was a species of bribery Parliamentary committees did not take cognizance of. The undertaking with which he was connected employed some 4,500 men; and having been brought up among these people, and knowing what it was to employ them both in times when it was difficult to find work for them and also when trade was brisk, he had found out what metal they were made of. He could speak not only for himself but for other members of that House who supported that bill, and ten of whom employed between them some 50,000 men; and he would defy hon. gentlemen opposite to find a hundred men on their side of the House who employed a like number of hands. Why, then, should hon. gentlemen opposite be more afraid of that measure than manufacturers? Did they fear that their broad acres would run away? Surely, if the bill was likely to do mischief, those who were about to support it would be the first sufferers from it. As to strikes and combinations, the more intelligent working men did not believe that wages could be increased by those means. The wages of domestic servants had increased more than those of any other class in the country; yet they had neither strikes nor combinations among them. Certainly he was not aware of any strikes or combinations among domestic servants. It was well known that what made wages rise—and the matter was one for rejoicing—was that that House had repealed the corn laws, and enabled the people to get the best price for their own labour, while they could also buy what they required in the cheapest market. Thus there were two masters bidding for the services of one man, instead of two men seeking for one master; and as long as that was the case wages must rise. Moreover, by passing a moderate measure of that kind, and taking these men into citizenship, their attention would be diverted from strikes and combinations, and they would have an interest given them in their country's welfare. Some persons had expressed surprise at so moderate a bill being so well received in the country; but that fact was to be accounted for by three reasons. The first was because the people were now well off, and were therefore easier pleased than when they knew not how to find work or food; in the next place, they did not take such a deep interest in the bill, in spite of all the eloquence with which it was introduced, until the right hon. members for Cairne and Stroud got up and denounced any extension of the suffrage whatever, whereupon it was seen that the measure was really an honest one; and, lastly, when the people found the Government prepared to stand or fall by the bill they resolved to support it. But what was meant by standing or falling by the bill? The idea of the Government appealing to the country on the measure had been ridiculed on the other side, and it seemed to be thought by some hon. gentlemen opposite that if it were rejected they would at once be allowed to go over to the Treasury benches. But that was not what the working classes would regard as standing or falling by that bill. They would call on the Government to dissolve Parliament, and they would be exceedingly

disappointed if that course were not taken in the event of the second reading not being carried. For himself he had no fear whatever of the result of such an appeal to the country.

We heartily concur in the concluding opinion. In the improbable but possible event of defeat, it will be due to the country to give it the opportunity of fighting itself. Government has pledged itself to stand or fall by the Bill, and to stand by it all powers must be exercised to overcome the resistance to its passing. There must be no falling till all resources for standing have been exhausted; the last of which is the appeal to the country, which is peculiarly befitting from the number of betrayals of representative trust. It is due to constituencies to give them the opportunity of delivering themselves of members who have deceived them, and voted against their principles. But irrespective of those perfidies, so great an issue as has been raised should not be adversely decided without the appeal to the country, enabling it to take its own part in what concerns it so vitally.

#### THE PALLAS.

How is it that the first maritime nation is always behind-hand in construction, and always following French lead? When the French build large ships, we build large ships. When the French case with iron, we case with iron or build of iron. When the French build a bluff submerged ram-bow, we build a bluff submerged bow. Is there, then, no nautical invention in us, and can we do nothing but servilely follow the fashion of the French dockyards? The *Pallas* corvette has just gone through her trial of speed. She is built on the plan of the *Magenta* and *Solferino*, with a long projecting bow, the reverse of what is technically called an overhang. The effect of this is to make the ship all body, and as her beam is to her length more than one to five, she may be expected to be more handy than her lanky sisterhood, and to steer well. But does she possess the first essential, speed? Upon this point the *Times* reports:

"The *Pallas* has fallen short of her originally estimated rate of speed, and she is also short of the speed due to her engine-power from her displacement.

"The loss of her estimated original rate is owing to the alterations made in her hull, displacement, and rig since she was first designed, and on the rate due from her engine-power to her displacement to the speed-destroying qualities of her French ram-bow."

So, after all have agreed that the first essential of ships of war is speed, here is a vessel built on a speed-destroying plan! And this is done in imitation of a rival naval Power, which may really mould and make what it pleases of our navy, as whatever it does is sure to be copied by our Admiralty. We almost believe that if they built a ship on the plan of Noah's ark we should do the same. Certainly, by vice of imitation, they can draw us into the construction of most inefficient vessels, from which they will have little to fear in the event of war.

As we understand the matter, the stem of the *Pallas* takes the contrary way to the usual, and a line dropped from the extreme end of her bow would fall within her forefoot instead of ahead of it.

The consequence of this construction is that she carries two immense waves heaped up on her bows as she ploughs through the water. The able writer of the nautical intelligence in the *Times* says, "Any one competent to form an opinion on the subject, and who witnessed the trial of the *Pallas* yesterday (at Stokes Bay), and the tempest of water under her bows, could not but admit that all this water could not be ploughed and beaten up in such a manner with a less force than one-fifth of the indicated power of the ship's engines. The permanent height of the waves thrown up in curves round her bows, with their foam covering of hissing waters which leaped and tumbled round the ship's head, was something wonderful to behold."

The steam plough ashore is a fine invention, but it may safely be doubted whether any good will be reaped from a steam plough for the sea. Of course a vessel which from its construction so buffets the sea cannot pass swiftly through it, and how she would behave in a heavy sea, making as she does a tremendous surge of her own in the smoothest water, it is not difficult to conjecture. But in excuse of her deficiency in speed it is pleaded that she is designed for a ram; but will not a ram want speed just as much as any other ship of war? How is she to tilt at her enemies if they can run away from the encounter, and leave her astern churning up the waters, as if that alone was her speciality? We cannot say in this instance of the bad bow, they manage these things better in France; but if the French commit an error, we are sure to follow the example.

#### STANLEY THE UNANSWERABLE.

There has been a great flourish of trumpets in honour of Lord Stanley's "unanswerable argument." We are told that till his position is taken or turned there is no contending; he has us in his grip. Let us then reconnoitre this very strong ground. Show us the tower of strength. If no Joshua can be fairly expected, in these degenerate days, to blow it down with a wind instrument, and if it cannot even be carried by assault, perhaps it may be undermined. What then is this famous argument? Its author's greatness is proclaimed by heralds in the morning, his prowess recorded in gazettes of the evening. It is the favourite

bolt of him who sits supreme (if not just now quite serene) on the Ludgate Olympus, quaffing, as mortals may suppose, large quantities of nectar, and shaking St Paul's with his laughter, as Titans or Reformers tumble over one after another into the Acheron that flows by. Well, but, *quod libras?* What is this thing of power, this Gorgon's head that makes us speechless and motionless? Brushing through what it appears are Lord Stanley's minor and more commonplace arguments, we come in sight of the great wonder, the noise of which we have so long been hearing. When a Yankee sights Niagara he generally chaffs it, reserving the tall talk to astonish the European mind; but we will treat it with all proper respect. The *Times* puts the great argument in these few words: "That we have a right to distrust a future policy over which the Government itself can have but little control." "This," adds the writer, "is the argument brought out with unequalled force by Lord Stanley, and it has never yet been touched."

We are told, besides, that if, after the passing of the present bill, a dissolution took place on the single question of redistribution, the result would certainly be unfavourable to it; but Lord Stanley never, to our knowledge, committed himself to such an unlucky paradox as this, of the smallest boroughs being sure to command the majority. The distrust he means, we take to be, on the contrary, the distrust he thinks the small boroughs themselves may fairly feel, and his arguments (setting aside his amiable fears for the health or durability of the Ministry, &c. &c., as not very important matters) appear to amount in the main to this: That the members for the smaller boroughs should have some perfect guarantee that the same body which decides the enfranchisement question shall also decide the question of disfranchisement. Some pocket and rotten and other small borough members think there is a chance that questions of redistribution will be brought for settlement before a differently constituted House. If so, why cannot those of them (and they are not all) who object to redistribution, or why cannot any who partake of their fears, vote against the enfranchising bill, and so do their best to defeat it, and with it any such possibility? What more could they do if a general bill were already before them? Where is the injury? In this we can conceive but two replies: the first, that if the several legislative ninetails were put up together there would be more chance of their being together knocked down; the second, and subordinate one, that these blushing members may be shy, or feel a delicacy about appearing, even on special grounds, to oppose enfranchisement. And such supposed better chances of mischief are, of course, what Ministers wish to avoid, and a chief reason for proceeding as they do.

Lord Stanley himself, though objecting to the separation of the bill, implies that he would argue in favour of a general Reform measure, of course including redistribution, saying, as he does, that he would not have supported an amendment in another sense; and, indeed, he is well known to be a Reformer. He argues, then, we suppose, for disfranchising or swamping the pocket and other small boroughs, and he will hardly aver that he expects this whole scheme to be so bad, that he would prefer an indefinite postponement of Reform. Then he cannot wish to put a weapon in the hands of those who would prevent disfranchisement, but the contrary. He must wish for what he had been opposing. Lord Stanley, we think, has for once been arguing in a circle, and so do all Reformers, more or less, who oppose this bill on the ground of its singleness. Lord Stanley's reasoning may be good as an inducement to rotten borough members to vote against it, but not as addressed to others.

But as to any question of unfairness, even in the mouth of a pocket or other small borough member opposed to all Reform, the argument would be without weight. He can, as we have said, vote against the measure, one of the remotely possible consequences of which he deprecates, and such boroughs can hardly expect a policy adopted on general grounds to be changed from special regard to their future chances. This would be to adopt Lord Grosvenor's new doctrine, that the Opposition should be consulted before bringing in a bill.

Upon what we presume are to be considered Lord Stanley's minor arguments we have not entered. Mr Layard aptly disposed of one, a very little one, though an outwork indeed of the great logical fortification. Lord Stanley had charged his father's colleagues with having threatened to disfranchise or swamp some particular borough whose representatives were disposed to be refractory in 1832, and though he did not mean to insinuate that any like "corrupt bargains" were in the present Government's contemplation, not he; yet he said it might be apprehended by others, in the case of this separate bill. But as Mr Layard remarked, the old Reform Bill, capable of such misuse, was complete and undivided. Mr Mill argued, that even if the task of redistribution did fall to the new constituency, Lord Stanley need not fear that one good enough to settle all else would not be good enough to settle that. Sir Hugh Cairns said, this begged the question; but as addressed to those who profess not to object to enfranchisement anywhere, and say they object to the bill not in itself, but only by itself, the argument is unanswerable.

The fact is, taking for granted Lord Stanley's sincerity, and for the moment, also, his impartiality on this question, his speech gives us his opinion, good for what it is worth, but not, it seems to us, an argument good for much. Ministers are of opinion that the various reforms wanted are more likely to pass at length from the realm of hope into that of reality, by entering one at a time. Lord

Stanley is of opinion that they might easily get in at the door all together this time, though they have so often before stuck fast. But Lord Stanley may depend upon it they must be made much thinner, if they are to enter so. A course of training under the friends he does not agree with might perhaps, it is true, bring them down to the required dimensions. We have, then, as we said, his opinion against us in this matter, and are sorry for it; but we are comforted by the true saying as to the opinion and the argument. He is there in his new uniform, standing opposed to us, and he is a marksman always to be respected; but this time he has shot wide of us. "He is dam good shot," said the Frenchman in the Crimea, "but for zat time I am not attained."

What lofty and neatly-balanced card-palaces of reasoning against the measure are being continually reared (e.g., an ingenious article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on "Mr Mill's Real Drift"), all resting entirely upon the rotten "platform" of the single-bill theory! Give it the slightest jog—remind but the builders of the measures to follow—down it goes, and all the fairy pagodas strew the floor in an instant. For the chief purpose of the bills being brought up singly, as we are tired of repeating, is of course that its immediate successors (containing the supplements or safeguards, for want of which these arguers so strongly condemn it), may be able to pass at all. Patience, and pick up the cards; there will soon be a demand for more airy fabrics, and to save any ungrammatical caviller the trouble of answering "airy fabrics yourself!" we beg to remind him that the Redistribution Bill, in very palpable substance, is to be introduced directly after the present one is disposed of, and pressed forward as fast as circumstances can be made to admit. One argument, or rather illustration, has been offered and admirably reproduced, which we will quote simply as a curiosity. Reform, it seems, is "a medicine, half of which may be noxious, while the whole would be beneficial. Take the calomel kindly, Lord Russell says, and the black draught shall come by-and-by." But the illustration points the other way. The draught will duly carry off whatever of the calomel should not remain in the system, viz., the increased constituencies of the little boroughs. True, such wry faces are made at the calomel that, if such things are done with the grey dose, it is dreadful to think what will be done with the black. And if the two had been administered together, the chances are the patient would have proved obstinately refractory.

But we have been led too far away from Lord Stanley, who is so liberal in most of his views that the increasing wonder is how he can sit comfortably where he does. We even hope to see him some day proposing that the elector shall be allowed to give his vote as privately as he himself does at his club. But let that pass; what will come of it, we sometimes ask ourselves, if he succeed to power *vice* Mr Disraeli invalidated or recommended to retire? Might not his first Cabinet Council be imagined as something like this: Lord Stanley, punctual as his clock, in his chair at the head of the table. To him enter, soon after, Mr Henley, Mr Walpole, Sir J. Pakington, Lord Cranborne, the two Lord Roberts, and several other gentlemen. All being seated, Lord Stanley opens: My Lords and Gentlemen, I think you may expect me to give you a slight programme, merely heads, of the measures I should wish to propose in the course of this session or the next. (Signs of interest.) Well, the Irish Church, I think, should be one of the first points. (Uneasiness.) The time, it appears to me, has now come, when the measure thirty-four years ago inchoated by my father (marks of adhesion from the less knowing ones) should be brought to its natural completion by his unworthy son. I would propose, then, to secularize or hand over—(Interruptions: But, my dear Lord—really, Lord Stanley, it is impossible to—surely, my Lord—) Lord Stanley (calm as Russell before his execution), Gentlemen, I would propose that I be allowed to proceed with my list, and even when I have done it appears to me that it would facilitate matters if one person spoke at a time. The next subject, &c. &c. After four or five other proposals, which cause much unseemly interruption, Mr Henley rises: It is the most extraordinary thing, but a most pre-emptory engagement, which I had entirely forgotten, &c. &c. (takes his leave, and makes an almost ugly rush to the door). Confused conversation; after which the guests, one after another, depart; most of them to call on Mr Disraeli, who at that unusual hour, by some miracle, happens to be at home. Lord Stanley, *solus*, shakes his head three times slowly; then settles down to a cozy nap. (Resignation next morning.)

We are far from denying that Lord Stanley's speech, with all drawbacks, is in parts an admirable pleading; only we like him best on his own side of a question. As a speaker he is then, at least, clear if cold, strong if bloodless, convincing if occasionally dry; in manner, as well as in some other things, the reverse of his father. He has, in many a contest, done good service already to the Liberal cause, though, singularly enough, always with his back to the enemy. But now his father's sword he has girded on, his own he has left behind him, and our fear is lest the paternal weapon, which fits him so badly, may get between his legs and give him an ugly fall.

#### BUDGETS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

We have already shown that the French army, judging from past events, has been proved to be capable of rapid expansion and contraction, and that in this view its efficiency as a military body is of the highest character.

Now the results of the inquiries instituted into the cost of this great force afford in our opinion strong corroborative evidence in favour of the French claim that its economy is in accord with its efficiency. But to enable us to adduce evidence to bear out this assertion, we must state our own expenditure on army and navy, in order to show the comparative economy with which the very considerable amounts of money laid out by the respective countries on their war forces have been managed under the French and English systems. The grave questions involved in the relative military efficiency (irrespective of cost) of the army and navy of the two countries have occupied the time and thoughts of statesmen and of army and naval commanders and officers of experience; and whilst we may assume that in strength and military organization the French army is superior to that of England, the navy of France has often been said to equal ours as to the power of its ships of war. Without questioning too deeply the accuracy of either claim, we may accept the admissions as to the relative state of power of the naval and military forces of the two nations, in order to ascertain the relative degree of economy with which the respective countries control the expenditure incurred thereon.

The available accounts of actual expenditure for France extend from 1847 to 1863, and for England to 31st March, 1864. Now, according to these, the lowest expenditure by England during any one of the years of that period, on the naval and military forces, amounted to about fifteen millions sterling, that of France being about sixteen millions; and the year was 1851, common to both—that is, the account year of France ending with 31st December, and of England with the 31st March. In order to contrast the expenditure of the second empire with that of the reign of Louis Philippe, it may be advisable to mention that the expenditure of France on army and navy in 1847, the last year of that sovereign's reign, was about twenty millions, against eighteen and a half millions in that year for our forces. The expenditure on the two services, highest in any one year of the new series, for the respective countries was close on fifty-three millions by us, against forty-three and a half millions by France, and again this *maximum* occurred in the same year, viz., 1855. The expenditure for the year previous was equal in both countries, and amounted to about thirty millions. Between 1846 and 1853, a period of eight years, the average of the total expenditure of France on army and navy was close on eighteen millions a year, whilst that of England was nearly seventeen and a half millions. The expenditure of England for the two services since the war with Russia, on an average of the ten years from 1st April, 1854, to the 31st March, 1864, has been about thirty millions, and the like average expenditure deduced from that of France for nine years, from the beginning of 1854 to the end of 1862, also shows close on thirty millions.

But again, we find sources of errors in these averages, inasmuch as the Marine department of France includes colonial expenditure charged by us to separate accounts, and the stated expenditure on our army is at least a million below the actual outlay, as recoveries are deducted in diminution of cost. But bearing in mind these sources of error, the relative accounts of expenditure as above stated may indicate nearly enough the relative economy with which the two countries control the charges for the two great branches of the public service, always having in view the vastness of the army and the equality of the naval power.

We now proceed to furnish some details in connection with the cost of the army of France; this branch may be stated to have involved an expenditure about three times that on the navy, until within the last few years, when the expense of the French marine has been nearly half as much as that of the French army. With us our naval and military expenditure bore the proportion of about seven millions on the navy to about nine and a half millions on the army, calculated on the eight years' average expenditure from 1847 to 1854; and, for the ten years since then, the naval charge has been about thirteen millions to seventeen millions on the army. Here again we have sources of error, seeing that with the naval charges are blended expenses belonging to the army and Post Office, and the army charges, though lessened by recoveries, which are used to show a reduction of cost, yet include an expenditure for all ordnance, shot, gunpowder, arms, and other ordnance and military stores in use with the navy. The amount is unknown and, as far as we know, never in modern times even estimated, far less shown in accounts. It is, we believe, a heavy charge on the army, and made much more expensive to both services from the waste which invariably results from the mismanagement of one department of the service when performing any duty for another. We would as lief employ our next-door neighbour to lay in our daily stock of provisions and keep our spare supplies in his larder, having the expenditure for both homes paid for by the parish without any check or inquiry into the cost, as continue to allow the army branch to provide and keep by its establishments the naval ordnance stores. The slight check of even seeing the cost, to say nothing of the repayment of the outlay by the naval department to the army, does not appear in the annual accounts, and those who know the abuses which arise out of the condemnation of stores by independent authorities of other branches of the service can well imagine the extravagant expenditure now occasioned by the mode of providing the navy with stores.

With this caution as to the existence of errors in the charges for our army and navy from which the French are

free, we may now state that during six years of the period that the Emperor has held authority in France—from 1858 to 1863—for which we have the French official reports complete and available, the actual military expenditure for all army services, ordinary and extraordinary, has fallen below the cost, fourteen millions, for our own army, as recently stated in the army estimates for the year 1866-67.

Further, that vast as was the war establishment of 600,000 officers and men to which the French army was raised in one of the years of the war with Russia, and though far in excess of the strength at which our own army was proposed to be kept, yet the highest actual military expenditure of the French during one year (1855) of that war was about thirty-five millions, or but little in excess of the highest expenditure, about thirty-three millions, for one of these years (also 1855) for our much smaller army. But if all the charges paid by England in years subsequent to the Russian war for the expenses of that war, amounting to very large sums, were brought into the accounts of the years to which they properly belong, we believe that the largest amount of expenditure of France, on their large army, would be found to be less than our highest year's outlay on our smaller army. These financial results, in respect to the expenditure of France on their army, are but little known in England, but deserve to be well looked into; and if we can furnish sufficient details to bear out the above conclusions, as formed after careful examination of the French Reports, we think we shall have fully justified ourselves in having so frequently and markedly drawn the attention of the public to the French military system. We believe that the important principle on which that system is based, and which has been productive of such great results to France, would, if well understood, prove equally beneficial to England. But it requires to be thoroughly understood, and, to be successful, it must be adhered to by us as it has been by the people and Government of France. It is a principle simple in appearance when enunciated, and cannot too often be expressed, that at all times we should maintain an entire separation between the ordinary estimates and those for the extraordinary military expenses. The ordinary estimate should only comprise the carefully considered and lowest charges for that smallest army force which will allow of an organization suitable for maintaining in time of peace the highest degree of military efficiency, so that the *minimum* strength can readily be raised to the *maximum* force which the country can require or support in case of war, and there may be aptitude for partial augmentations to meet temporary wants, but in all such cases at the least possible cost to the country. The extraordinary expenses are intended to cover the charges for the strength of the army, and for the stores and other purposes which add so much to the military expenditure when the peace establishment is departed from. These extraordinary expenses should be of that character and in that form which will allow of prompt diminution as soon as the necessity for them is at an end. And furthermore, whatever expenses are incurred should previously have been set forth in an estimate, and all estimates of every description should invariably show the exact purposes to which the money is to be applied and to what persons, or for what stores the money is to be expended. In fact, the most reliable estimate which can be drawn out is the one which sets forth the proposed outlay most nearly after the form in which the actual outlay will appear in the bills of the claimants. Finally, as Mr Anderson has so frequently urged, "the best, if not the only means, of bringing under the control of Parliament the expenditure of every department of the State consists in an effective and uniform system of public accounts and an independent audit of expenditure upon vouchers after payment." It is useful to reiterate that not only are the French budgetary details full and complete as to numbers, grades, and quantities as well as money values or amounts, but that the distinct classes of services and of departments are separately exhibited; and that these are shown separately in the accounts, so that the comparison of the details in the budgets can be made with the details in the accounts. Judging from the reports, there does not appear to be the least desire of the French authorities to confound examination by omitting, as invariably happens in English accounts and estimates, quantities and persons on whose behalf the expenditure has been incurred. Further, the French deserve our imitation when their accounts show the various charges under pay, rations, clothing, hospital diets, for each branch of the service, as also the stores obtained by departments, and their cost, besides the cost of repairs, so that full information on any one portion of the French service can be ascertained for any one year. So uniform and distinct, as well as stable, are the classifications of the headings to the budgets and accounts, that the compilation of the information for a series of years can be made without difficulty. Nay more, the particular localities in which the expenditure is incurred, in France, Algiers, Mexico, Rome, Syria, China, Italy, Crimea, are all set forth all the money spent on the army and other departments, under all the heads above named, being distinctly stated, so that the charge for any locality, for any year, or for a series of years, under different heads, may be contrasted.

The French official reports enable us to ascertain not only the distribution of the effectives of the French army, during any one of the years for which we have the accounts, but equally the cost of the forces maintained in the several localities. Accordingly, we find in the reports that the French effective army was distributed as follows in the years below:

	1853	1855	1859	1860	1861	1863
France . . .	270,255	343,210	305,797	355,354	378,776	323,715
Rome . . .	8,760	6,899	7,378	10,373	18,385	14,961
Italy . . .	...	...	159,707	19,516	...	...
Crimea . . .	...	153,648	...	...	...	...
Algiers . . .	70,982	63,357	74,396	68,457	67,724	55,431
Syria . . .	...	...	...	2,854	3,434	...
China . . .	...	...	...	5,932	5,581	...
Mexico . . .	...	...	...	...	...	32,682
Cochin- China	...	...	...	...	...	1,543
	349,997	567,114	547,287	465,485	473,889	428,352

The French accounts of actual expenditure for the army in these separate localities exhibit to the people of France the money they pay for so employing their military forces. And this not only for each of the years, but by a few additions the cost of any portion of the army, or of the entire force, can be ascertained during a series of years for each service, and all the details connected therewith. The knowledge which the French people possess as to the army expenses, and in what localities cost is incurred, will be therefore minute and accurate, and the money cost of the glory the nation reaps from having the French troops serving out of France is felt accordingly. The opposition made by the French people to the employment of the French troops on such expeditions as that of Mexico is no doubt based on the fact that they see the bill, and know they pay too dearly for the doubtful honour gained.

We admit that far too much money may be, and indeed is, spent in France for the glory of the nation and in maintaining the power of the Emperor, but the money so spent is well and carefully controlled in its appropriation. The good order, and really powerful and efficient check over the application of the army funds, which so markedly characterize the French system, secure for France an amount of economy which we do not obtain. No doubt a large diminution of our military expenditure is practicable, but this can only be attained when the nation fully understands, by the clearness of its budgets and exactness of its accounts, what the cost of the Indian, Colonial, and Home services really is, so as to learn how they can be more economically carried out, or in what directions the requirements of the army may be extensively lessened.

At present the army arrangements are confused by the sudden and frequent changes in the disposition of the army and the great demands on its strength. That repose which in France is taken advantage of to promote efficiency in the training of the soldiers, and in perfecting the accountability of the expenditure, is denied to our army system, and the consequence is a wasteful and unprofitable outlay, generally characteristic of a state of war.

The defects in the military administration which were so prominently pointed out by the Report of the Commission, dated 21st February, 1837, and on which Earl Russell served, could not possibly be reformed in a few months even in time of perfect repose, and far less could the required changes be made in a time of war, when every effort was needed for rightly carrying out ordinary demands for extra services occasioned by the war, even if a settled and well-organized military system had previously been formed. The inevitable failures which for centuries have at the commencement characterized all warlike expeditions undertaken by this country were added to the many mistakes which must arise out of all transition management. Moreover, the improvements in the working of the military system, which the unremitting toils of an excellent and devoted Minister during the first few months of the war succeeded in effecting, could not be seen by their results on the army in the field until some time after they had been introduced. But before this could be apparent to the public, an unworthy intrigue on the part of a Cabinet Minister drove the Duke of Newcastle from power, at the very time when his indefatigable labours were beginning to effect an improvement in the administration of the army.

His successor, Lord Panmure (now Lord Dalhousie), unfortunately, on accepting the seals of office, found the members of the Ordnance Board—presided over by the Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, a former respected Adjutant-General of Artillery—in a state of anarchy. The Treasury arrangements for the supply of the commissariat stores to the army had also entirely failed, more from want of unity of action in the military system than from insufficient quantities. The commissariat officers, also, collected from all parts of the world, for want of practice in the executive details of their duties, had been found ignorant of those ways in which trained officers of this department know how to distribute stores. The supplies of medicine were also deemed insufficient, though the wants were in reality traceable to defects in the general arrangements of the service, in ability to turn resources to account. Lord Panmure, long practised in the duties of Secretary at War, and thoroughly acquainted with the advantages of working with an office establishment thoroughly trained and obedient to the chief of the office, laid hold of the outery so unjustly, though for Lord Panmure so opportunely, raised against the Duke of Newcastle, to sweep away many of the obstructions and shortcomings springing out of the still apparently divided authority over the army. The old organization remaining, and thereby giving an impression that the authority formerly possessed by the Board of Ordnance, Treasury, medical authorities, and Paymaster-General continued to exist, Lord Panmure effected the change by aggregating in his own person most of the powers which these

separate authorities had continued to retain after the Duke of Newcastle's appointment. Now those who know with what tenacity the official mind clings to the idea of independent action can well suppose that without a thorough breaking up of all the long-established grooves in which the different administrative branches of the army had been used to work, it would have been utterly impossible for Lord Panmure to overcome the prejudices and resistance to his rightful and highly-needed authority, as Chief Administrator of the Army. He rightly felt that it could only be properly exercised by fusing all offices previously separated into one great office. But even Lord Panmure, with all his power, failed to get rid of the whole of the Treasury control over the commissariat, which to this day is retained as respects finance.

An examination of the evidence given before the select committee on army organization will also show that all the reforms in the army administration which Lord Panmure contemplated were not completed during his incumbency. Since he gave up the seals of office, during the reign of his five successors, we can point to many changes in the War Office, but no improvements. Indeed, the affair of the Bellows, and the loss of life at Hongkong, and other cases we could quote, too clearly prove that the promptness of action which the amalgamation of the former various independent departments of the military service was intended to effect, has not yet been secured, owing, as we believe, mainly to the absence of that training and knowledge of office management which Lord Panmure so thoroughly acquired as Secretary at War, and by which he was able to control and keep in order the monster office he had created.

Hence it is, that though we often see great results from some despotic administrations, that is only where the head is able to direct all affairs, and to devote his whole time to the overseeing of the State business. So controlled and so directed, we doubt not that the vast machinery which one able man may safely undertake to keep in gear, and rightly work, may be well worked, but woe to an incapable successor who attempts the direction.

The question now to be considered is, whether the character of our political government, which causes frequent changes in the person of the War Secretary of State, all totally irrespective of his efficiency for the control of the army administration, ought not to lead to an adaptation of the business to be controlled to these unavoidable changes in the head. Further, looking to the French military administration, though we invariably see an officer of high military rank and great experience placed at the head of its War department, yet there we see a complete division of duties existing, each section under an officer of high rank, all being, however, placed in complete subordination to the Minister of War. In France we find permanent under-administrators with distinct duties, but having individual responsibilities to the country, Sovereign, and Ministers, for the right performance of the duties assigned. In England all action is made dependent on the frequently changed Secretary of State. In France there are separate and defined branches of management, though far less frequent changes occur in the appointment of Minister of War there than in England, and consequently there is far less necessity for so distributing the duties of the War department. In France we see the names of only three Ministers who have been at the head of the War Office since 1851, two besides the present War Minister. In England we have now the seventh Secretary of State since the first appointment of the Duke of Newcastle, that is to say, in a period of eleven years, and a failure in passing a political measure might soon give us an eighth War Minister. In France all three are experienced military officers. In England, except General Peel and Lord Panmure, none ever belonged to the army. The necessity of providing for our Parliamentary control over our army, a necessity which is not recognized in France, commends to our adoption the many arrangements for the division of the War-Office business which exist in the French War department, though there it is not needed, as with us, to compensate for the party contingencies and professional inexperience of the selected statesmen for our Ministers of War. We find the French War department divided into seven great directions, and subdivided into twenty-five bureaux, and, in addition, the Minister of War has a private Cabinet and a strong personal staff of experienced officers to aid him in the performance of the special duties requiring the direct attention of the Minister. The great mass of the army business being transacted by the heads of the seven directions, under responsibilities exact and clear for their right discharge according to defined rules, the Minister of War is necessarily not overburdened as our Secretary of State is with the duty of allowing his name and authority to be used on any occasion, however trifling. The great secret of enforcing the right discharge of official functions is to place on individuals the responsibility of thinking, and of showing that they do think rightly by acting on their own thoughts, with entire responsibility for results. The most certain process for ensuring negligence is to allow officials to act, as we do, in the name of the Secretary of State, who, without experience or knowledge, must often assent to bad arrangements, or allow that most dangerous of all courses, the issuing of orders without the previous authority of the head being given.

Again we turn to the French organization, and there we find that besides the establishments needed for the executive administration of army affairs, there are special and permanent committees and commissions formed for considering all those numerous questions involving changes

in the existing army system. For these changes require a calm thought which overworked officials cannot possibly devote without risking the right performance of their daily business. Committees of this kind are twelve in number, and are specially appointed for the twelve great administrative branches of the War department. They are merely consultative, to advise on the system and rules by which the executive officers must be guided in the discharge of army duties. In addition thereto we find a section of the Council of State composed of experienced officers to oversee the whole of the affairs of the War department, including the duty of the War Minister.

#### THE BALLOT.

Lord Stanley thinks the impending "transfer of power" will be larger than is supposed; and others, with whom he certainly has little in common, express great fears of intimidation. If there were truth in the *Quarterly Review's* grave apprehensions of political unions worked like the trades unions by reckless ringleaders, or if the ringleaders referred to indulged corresponding hopes, would they not be to a man against the Ballot? Let all who fear like the *Quarterly Review*, and all who hope like these hypothetical demagogues, exchange sides on that question, and let the timid vote for what must go far to extinguish all the hopes and fears together. We commend this argument very politely to the notice of the Conservatives. Let the *Quarterly Review* surprise us agreeably with a strong Ballot article, and let the organ of the demagogues, if they have one, trot out the "gross hypocrisy" argument, the "confoundedly un-English" argument, the "irresponsible trustee" argument, and all the others that we know so well. The leading journal feels a strong presentiment that "in the larger (though not the largest) boroughs Mr Gladstone will find his 'lamba,' the 71. householders, grow into 'refractory sheep, and sell themselves to the Conservatives 'at rinderpest prices.'" We think it is as libellous to credit the whole body of 71. householders with combativeness, or lamb-ativeness, or venality, as to credit the sheep with the rinderpest; but certainly the writer, if he indulges presentiments like these, should be a very strong supporter of the Ballot; and we trust he is so. But the committees now sitting afford, after all, the best reasons for it. What a light do they throw on the honesty and sincerity which are to be undermined by secret voting. Not but that there is honour among the thieves; in matters unconnected with voting, *bien entendu*. It is like the two standards of morality too often prevalent in schools, one for things regarding the masters, one for things in general. At Bridgewater we find Mrs Cooze showing that her husband always brought home every shilling he got, and when asked if she would believe he had received 10l. from the other side if he told her so, she said, decidedly not, unless he had brought it home to her. Yet Cooze, she said, had in 1859 taken 10l. from Westropp and voted for Tynte and Kinglake after all. At Maidstone, Kirby said Mr Day had promised him 12l. to vote for Lee and Whatman, and hoped Kirby would take his word. "Certainly not," said Kirby, "in elective matters." The various unsuccessful prescriptions to cure bribery and intimidation, recommended by different doctors and adopted by committees and commissions, remind us forcibly of the man who was always losing coins through a hole in his pocket. He, too, tried many inconvenient arrangements, he put them in his purse, and was always leaving it about; he put them in his desk, and always forgot to open it before he went out; he tied them in a knot in his pocket-handkerchief, and they fell out when he blew his nose. At last he bethought him of having his pocket mended. And Parliament will at last think of the Ballot.

#### BRAZIL NEWS.

The statement which has been circulated on the authority of a telegram from Lisbon, said to be brought by the French steamer which left Rio de Janeiro on March 24, that the Brazilian allied army had crossed the river Paraná into Paraguay under cover of Brazilian ironclad vessels, appears to be a misstatement. It really seems next to impossible to get truth about Brazil.

The *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, published at Rio on the 24th of March, and containing the last news from the River Plate, says:

From the Plate we learn that a projected movement of the fleet from Corrientes to Paso de la Patria on the 6th, part of the programme of which was the forcing, by two of the ironclads and two gunboats, of the fortified pass of Itapiré to obtain command of the Upper Paraná, was not carried into effect up to the 6th, but for what reason was unknown, as the vessels were ready to start when the countermarching signal was made.

The *Correio Mercantil*, a Brazilian newspaper, gives the last news from Corrientes to the date of March 9, and from Buenos Ayres to March 13, as "relating no new event; the Brazilian and Argentine armies occupied the same positions."

The *Standard of Buenos Ayres*, published on March 10, says:

The allies are still on the left bank of the Paraná, preparing to cross over and attack the Paraguayans. The most gigantic measures have been taken to ensure a decisive and complete victory, and the passage of the river at the Paso de la Patria is announced for the 15th or 20th instant.

The telegram which is said to have reached the Brazilian Legation in London, announcing the passage that was expected to take place on the 15th or 20th of March, must have come with "gigantic" strides indeed,

if it be a true telegram. How is this continual manufacture of false news about Brazil, to be explained? It may answer temporarily some stock-jobbing purposes, but it must in the end cease to have efficacy, except to discredit the Brazilian Government and all connected with it.

#### Correspondence.

##### SINS, PLAGUES, AND PUNISHMENTS.

Sir,—With your permission I propose to make some remarks on

- (1) Dr Newman's letter to Dr Pusey on the 'Eirenicon.'
- (2) Sermons on the 'Cattle Plague,' by the Rev. C. Voysey.
- (3) 'Endless Sufferings not the Doctrine of Scripture,' by the Rev. J. Davis.
- (4) 'Hell opened to Christians,' by F. Finamonti.
- (5) Books for Children; 'The Sight of Hell,' by Rev. J. Furniss.
- (6) A review of Mr Lecky's 'History of Rationalism,' in 'Fraser's Magazine' for Nov., 1865.

These writings may seem strangely miscellaneous; but disclaiming any desire to enter on a theological discussion, I wish to examine them simply as furnishing evidence of two kinds of instruction afforded to the people. If it be granted that either is wholesome, it follows that the other must be very unwholesome.

The subsidence of the Cattle Plague, which had manifestly taken a turn before some of the bishops recommended a day of humiliation for their respective dioceses, and which has gone on more rapidly since, may appear to some to be a direct answer to the prayers offered up. But there is no doubt that the fact will bring many to regard the visitation with a calmer and more judicial temper. It may, therefore, be not without use to remark that while some of the bishops and clergy spoke of the murrain as a special chastisement for national sins; others, and among these pre-eminently the Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster, exposed with great force the fallacies which make up the generally received views on the subject. According to the latter, the duty of the Christian was to use all available means for the lessening or removal of plagues, pestilences, and other evils, under the conviction that all things are ordered by an All-wise and loving Father, and in a spirit of submission to his righteous rule. Thus the energy does not interfere with the resignation; and the resigned temper does but give a keener edge to the energy. Whether this teaching be theologically correct or not, there is no doubt that it is especially wholesome for such creatures as men, whom it brings at once into a fresher and a purer atmosphere. In this excellent work Mr Voysey has borne a good part, chiefly by showing that punishments have a value only in so far as they are connected with some given offence. If we cannot thus directly connect the punishment with the sin, it is in Mr Voysey's words "no punishment at all and of no moral value whatever. . . . The impossibility of saying what sins the cattle plague has been sent to punish, deprives it of all value as a punishment. Until we can trace its origin to some special wrong act, or series of wrong acts, we must look upon it as one of the occasional manifestations of the laws of God, every one of which is intensely wise and kind, and merciful, and designed only for the welfare and happiness of all God's children. Some of us will live to see the blessings of the cattle plague." The *Times* is correct in maintaining that we have seen this result already.

If, again, the teaching that wrong-doing will receive a righteous recompense is especially wholesome, all language which pictures an unrighteous recompense for it must be unwholesome and pernicious. The human mind is so made that it will allow readily that for evil-doing a man deserves to be punished, whether in this life or any other, nay, even that his very existence may for obstinate persistence in evil be righteously blotted out. Whether any conscious existence can be so blotted out is another question; but that an endless punishment for definite acts can be justly inflicted the human mind does not really and seriously believe. Hence the efforts to prove the reality of such punishments are either sophistical or spasmodic attempts to leap into a certain frame of thought, which substitutes an arbitrary dogma in place of real conviction.

It will, however, be generally admitted that the motive of terror is one of the most unworthy on which a human being can act; and that to live in an atmosphere of terror must be altogether vitiating.

The two books which I have mentioned as being written by Messrs Finamonti and Furniss are Roman Catholic tracts, the treatise of Mr Furniss being specially intended "for children and young persons." This book, put forth "permissu superiorum," is published by Mr Duffy, in Paternoster row. I have no hesitation in saying that they are a scandal to the civilization of England. The treatise of Finamonti, published by G. P. Warren, Thomas street, Dublin, is full of lewd and indecent engravings, which delineate some forms of the torments of hell. Of these it is enough to say, that probably no prints which have drawn down judicial sentences on the vendors in Holywell street could be more corrupting. With these engravings the text matches excellently well. The prison of hell is in the "lowest part of the universe," universe here being the earth, as the writer immediately afterwards speaks of the walls as being 4,000 miles thick—"i. e., as far as from hence to hell." Here the lost are bound up like a faggot, and piled up like fascines in a trench. The brimstone "causes a stench not to be borne," and the bodies of the damned are so putrid that, if they were to be placed on the earth, "it would cause a general infection." By burning sinners in this prison, God "repairs the injuries done to His glory;" in short, "the creature will detest, blaspheme, and hate her Maker, and He, in like manner, will abhor and reject her, and be always present to torment her." "Unhappy indeed," Mr Finamonti remarks, "is the father who begot one of these monsters to be damned, unfortunate the mother that gave suck to one that has thus miscarried. O graceless marriage, which brought into the world an eternal enemy of God." The writer seems to forget that even in his own communion great saints have been the parents of great sinners.

Mr Furniss is even a worse offender than Mr Pinamonti, from whom he has derived his happiest ideas. These he has worked out systematically, and presented in a scheduler or catechetical form. To the question, where is hell? the answer is, that it is in the middle of the earth. "How far is it to hell?" "Just four thousand miles," this being the semi-diameter of the earth. This assertion proves, of course, the candour and sincerity with which the Roman Church receives the conclusions of astronomical science. The staunchest Copernican cannot deny that a distance of 4,000 miles intervenes between the outer crust of the earth and its centre; but as this measurement holds good from all parts of the crust, Mr Furniss has reduced his hell to a mathematical point. Yet it is elsewhere spoken of as "boundless," and its size as "immense." It is red hot; yet "fire on earth gives light: it is not so in hell, in hell the fire is dark." The third dungeon is the red-hot floor. On it stands a girl. "She looks about sixteen years old. Her feet are bare, she has neither shoes nor stockings." The door opens, and she falls down asking for mercy. "O that in this endless eternity of years I might forget the pain only for a single moment." "Never shall you leave this red-hot floor," is the devil's answer. "Is it so?" the girl says, with a sigh that seems to break her heart; "then at least let somebody go to my little brothers and sisters, and tell them not to do the bad things that I did." The devil answers her again, "Your little brothers and sisters have the priests to tell them these things. If they will not listen to the priests, neither would they listen, even if somebody should go to them from the dead."

The fourth dungeon is "the boiling kettle." "Listen: there is a sound like that of a kettle boiling? Is it really a kettle which is boiling? No; then what is it? Hear what it is. The blood is boiling in the scalded veins of that boy; the brain is boiling and bubbling in his head; the marrow is boiling in his bones."

The fifth dungeon is the "red-hot oven," in which is a little child. "Hear how it screams to come out; see how it turns and twists itself about in the fire; it beats its head against the roof of the oven. It stamps its little feet on the floor of the oven." To this child God was "very good."

"Very likely God saw that this child would get worse and worse, and would never repent, and so it would have to be punished much more in hell. So God in His mercy called it out of the world in its early childhood."

Is Mr Duffy aware of the nature of the instruction given in these tracts which bear his name as the publisher?

Now on all this disgusting stuff only one remark can be made, viz., that the writer set down to compose the tract with the deliberate intention of telling lies, in order to terrify children into goodness. That many are driven into reckless defiance, and many others into madness, is a sad and stern fact; and thus these writers inflict injuries to which the crimes for which murderers are hanged are as nothing. I venture to submit these horrifying tracts especially to the judgment of the reviewer of Mr Lecky's 'History of Rationalism,' in 'Fraser's' for November, 1866, because no one who reads that article can doubt that it must come from a lawyer of pre-eminent ability; and I would ask him whether the law provides no remedy for the propagation of this social poison. In that review he has well said that, when the doctrine of endless torments is once fairly embraced, "it simply breaks down morality. To save men from torture, perpetual in duration and infinite in degree, everything was considered justifiable. A man who would not tell a lie to save his own life may be noble and heroic; but a man who would not tell a lie to protect his wife and daughters from the insults of a parcel of ferocious and licentious robbers would be a subject of great contempt; and in the same way, if the extreme doctrine of exclusive salvation were firmly believed, pious frauds became a duty."

It seems, indeed, from Dr Newman's reply to Dr Pusey's 'Eirenicon,' that the Church of Rome, as such, is not responsible for such illustrations of the dogma. Dr Newman disavows for the Church and for himself much of the popular teaching on the cultus of the Virgin, and taxes Dr Pusey with unfairness in bringing forward these extreme teachers. "Take a parallel case," he says, "and consider how you would decide it yourself. Supposing an opponent of a doctrine for which you so earnestly contend, the eternity of punishment, instead of meeting you with direct arguments against it, heaped together a number of extravagant descriptions of the place, mode, and circumstances of its infliction; . . . would you think this an equitable determination, or the procedure of a theologian?"

The Church of England, happily, stands judicially acquitted of maintaining or enforcing this dogma. We may take Dr Newman's word for it that the Roman Church does not sanction the teaching of Messrs Furniss and Pinamonti. But if the teaching is thus unauthorized, it becomes the more a duty to get it punished as corrupting the morality of the country. Nor must it be forgotten that the form which this dogma assumes in the hands of Dr Newman himself, and certainly of Dr Pusey and the Bishop of Oxford, is almost as gross as the fictions of Mr Furniss and his Jesuit guide. Bishop Wilberforce tells children of devils who will torture the liar by the instrument of his falsehood, and the lustful man by the instrument of his lust. Dr Pusey talks of the fiery eyes of devils looking through the sinner in their hate, and of the howls which resound along the horrid vaults of hell. Dr Wilberforce, as well as Mr Furniss, can speak of the truant schoolgirl as shut up along with the most cruel of tyrants and the most bloodthirsty of murderers.

There is, I believe, a remedy at common law against writings which are calculated to bring religion into contempt. I venture to ask of those who are competent to give a legal opinion, whether the pages of Mr Furniss should not thus be stigmatized and the writer punished accordingly. If we could but realize the wretched terror and torture inflicted even by the more ordinary teachings about hell fire on the minds of the young and the sensitive, we could not fail to perceive that such teachers are committing the most serious of offences against the best interests of the nation.

From this farrago of abominable and blasphemous trash it is a relief to turn to Mr Davis's little work, 'Endless Sufferings not the doctrine of Scripture.' To say that he has proved his point might be to trench on theological discussion; but it may fairly be said that, whether he has done so or not, his book furnishes wholesome reading in all respects except one. In his position that all will be punished in the measure

of their deserts or their needs the mind at once acquiesces; but to say that God may be justified in keeping a sinner in torment whom He has determined ultimately to annihilate, does not so commend itself to the understanding or the conscience. Mr Davis takes up the position of Archbishop Whately, that eternal death is the absolute extinction of all existence; hence he asserts that men are not inherently immortal, the life only of those being continued who are found to be deserving of it. "Non extinguuntur magnæ animæ" was the hope of Tacitus; the substitution of bonæ or piæ for magnæ would express the belief of Mr Davis and the Archbishop. Metaphysically, this doctrine may be very dangerous, but it carries with it no social danger; and only as they affect social interests have I wished to draw attention to the disgusting treatises of Furniss and Pinamonti.

I am, &c.,

PARSYTER ANGLICANUS.

April 16 1866.

### THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT ARCHITECTURALLY CONSIDERED.

Sir,—It may be, as Mr D. Griffith says, "a monstrous thing to have a House not large enough for the members entitled to sit in it;" or rather, as he next says, "really available" for only 170 of those "who wish to hear, or to be heard;" but it is due to the architect who designed this building, and saw the works executed at the cost of three millions, first of all, to repudiate the injustice of considering the great outlay, in especial connexion with its two principal rooms, its debating rooms; and, secondly, that the "pervading inconvenience" is attributable to the style of architecture in which alone he was permitted to exercise his talents.

I have conclusive reason for knowing that, had he been left to his own inclinations, we should have had a building of pervading convenience, and expressive character, in his modification of the Græco-Roman or palatial Anglo-Italian style, which would have admitted of what the Tudor Gothic does not, the semi-circular theatric form for the two senatorial chambers; and, on another site, not bound in by local difficulties, and dictated only by historical associations, he would have left us an edifice of which there would have been no just reason for complaint, and infinite reason for admiration.

I have, in other publications, argued, for years, with dispassionate and respectful earnestness, against the use of Gothic design for any kind of building except the Church and the structures closely associated with it; and delighted I was when the restoration of our old ecclesiastical style was being effected; but, from the first, it was evident to me that the adoption even of the most plastic of the Gothic varieties for the new Houses of Parliament was a most serious mistake. That Gothic details may be tortured into an appliance to general forms, utterly unsuited to the development of the true Gothic character, has been shown to a melancholy extent; but, in a building requiring two great halls for such all-important purposes as those of "the British Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled," the style of architecture expressly suited to the occasion should have been peremptorily demanded, instead of having been forbidden.

The Senate Chambers should not have been formed with sides for Ministerial and Opposition parties, throwing the unattached and independent moderates into the remote seats at the ends furthest from the Speaker, or into the back seats, or few remote sittings in the Speaker's front; nor should any of the members be compelled, during the whole of a debate, to be looking over one of their shoulders at the chair. Every member on the front and receding benches should have both eyes direct upon the Speaker, as the former sits in comfort on his point in the semicircle, of which the chair is the centre; and right and left should emerge into front with no angular turn of demarcation. Lateral expanse, with an approximating opposite, is there afforded, and the general inclosing form which results is the one not less advantageous to hearing than to sight. This is all so obvious as to make its description appear absurd; but, when I hear the defects of the building decried, with no reference to the cause of those defects—and that, too, in dishonour of the greatest architect we have had since Wren—while not one "of all our tribe" (so far as I know) has ever spoken of Barry as his memory deserves, I am tempted, Mr Editor, to speak from the place of my many years' retirement into seclusion, in the hope that you will see no presumption in my so doing.

With all the faults, that I maintain are not attributable to the late Sir O. Barry, but to the mediæval mania that has hitherto prevailed, like a too protracted potato rot or cattle plague, the Houses of Parliament have no equal in their particular fashion. The House of Lords is the most beautiful room in Europe of its character; and nothing, in old or modern Tudor Gothic art, can pretend to rivalry with the Victoria Tower.

The object of this letter, then, is the expression of an old ex-architect's feelings in regard to Sir O. Barry's exemption from the blame attaching to a design which he made as conformable as he could to the requirements of a dictatorial advertisement; and whose plan was, with emphatic decision, chosen in preference to all of the many others. If, then, the judges were capable, let us still be thankful that we have so splendid an error, instead of any other less successful attempt to realize an impossibility.

You justly allude to the Houses of Parliament as typical of the false and inadequate representation of the present British constituency. Neither in character nor capacity do the two great chambers symbolize the advance of the country in its desire for what is fit, whether to be afforded by what is antique, or mediæval, or modern. They represent the state of faulty things antecedent to their overthrow, and emphatically misrepresent the spirit of the times which have improvingly progressed since the dethronement of the Stuarts. They illustrate the character of Tory Conservatism, which, professing a regard for the many, would, if possible, preserve to the few of their own clique the mode of proving that regard by, even prohibiting a style of architecture which admits of a multitudinous assemblage, having equally the privilege of sight and hearing. The rearrangement of the seats will do little in the latter respect; and it is too late, without every violation of taste, to reform the case as it now stands.

AN OLD EX-ARCHITECT.

### SCUTICA ETONIENSIS.

(The Head Master of Eton has asked the parents of his 'young friends' for five contributions of 1l. 1s. towards the new school buildings.)

The victim paternal of clerical dodging,  
Aghast at an extra for decentish lodging,  
May possibly deem the chance somewhat akin is  
To Student's of getting a place for The Guinness.

Newmarket, April 16, Eve "of the Two Thousand." J. H. T.

### THE LITERARY EXAMINER.

The Lost Tales of Milesius. By the Right Hon. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart., M.P. Murray.

The poet who taught Virgil Greek has left a compilation of short outlines of love stories current in the legends of his time, and among the skeletons there strewn may lie the bones of some of the lost tales of the Milesians which were popular when wit was bright in Greece and Rome, and of which the living form, with all its quips and humours, may be seen in an old story which has not been lost, the Golden Ass of Apuleius. That romance was said by its author to be written in the manner of the fictions most in vogue in his own time, and they, says Sir Bulwer Lytton, "were certainly the 'Milesian Fables, or those which the Sybarites imitated 'from that original.'"

From one of the old myths and tales that have not had their gold extracted by the craft of the great poets of antiquity, with much gold of his own finding, Sir Bulwer Lytton works out a few pieces of modern antique ornament, that have a great intrinsic value. To harmonize the tone of his own mind as a narrator with the telling of these ancient tales, he does not choose any possible but unknown manner of the first story-tellers, but takes for a type Apuleius, in whom, as in his telling of the story of Cupid and Psyche, undercurrents of thought marked by the spiritualism of the later Platonists and otherwise assimilated to the tone of modern sentiment, establish a manner that a modern writer can adopt and, especially in the case of the writer of these poems, be himself without anachronism.

Sir Bulwer Lytton, who does not despair of the English hexameter, adopts for the form of his antique tales unrhymed metres, not directly imitated from any of the metres of the Greeks and Latins, but regular measures of his own invention. Unrhymed irregular measures Southey and others have used freely, with various degrees of success. Here the experiment is new. Each tale is told in an unrhymed stanza of four lines, which, once adopted, is retained throughout. There are eight tales, and seven forms of metre; one form, of which the cadence certainly lends itself exceedingly well to the author's manner of narrative, being used in two of the tales, the Secret Way and the Oread's Son. Let us at once see this metre in movement. Omartes, a Scythian king, says the first tale, planted himself richly in a great walled city, and proposed to unite his fair daughter Argiope to the Persian Prince Zariades, that there might be peace thereafter between the nations parted by the Tanais. His warlike, free-born chiefs and wild nomadic people were ill-pleased with this project:

For Scyth and Mede had long been as those winds  
Whose very meeting in itself is storm,  
Yet the King's will prevailed,  
Confirmed, when wavering, by his trusted Sonthes.

He, the fierce leader of the fiercest horde,  
Won from the wild by greed of gain and power,  
Stood on the bound between  
Man social and man savage, dark, and massive:

So rugged was he that men deemed him true,  
So secret was he that men deemed him wise,  
And he had grown so great,  
The throne was lost behind the subject's shadow.

In the advice he whispered to the king  
He laid the key-stone of ambitious hope,  
This marriage with the Mede  
Would leave to heirs remote the Scythian kingdom,

Sow in men's minds vague fears of foreign rule,  
Which might, if cultured, spring to armed revolt.  
In armed revolt how oft  
Kings disappear, and none dare call it murder.

And when a crown falls bloodstained in the dust,  
The strong man standing nearest to its fall  
Takes it and crowns himself;  
And heirs remote are swept from earth as rebels.

Of peace and marriage-rites thus dreamed the king;  
Of graves and thrones the traitor; while the fume  
From altars, loud with prayer  
To speed the Scythian envoys, darkened heaven.

A hardy prince was young Zariades,  
Scorning the luxuries of the loose-robed Mede,  
Cast in the antique mould  
Of men whose teaching thewed the soul of Cyrus.

'To ride, to draw the bow, to speak the truth,  
Sufficed to Cyrus,' said the prince, when child.  
'Astyages knew more!  
Answered the Magi—'Yes, and lost his kingdoms.'

This extract shows only one of the moods of a tale various in expression, but it clearly illustrates the skill with which an unrhymed cadence has been planned to suit the continuous movement and shifting emotion of a story of some length. We have in these metrical tales the spirit of antique romance with which years ago the author of the 'Last Days of Pompeii' charmed his countrymen. The spirit of romance is fresh as of old, the story-telling of the best, poetical in its suggested train of

pictures to the mind, and full of interest, with its quick sequence of incident; but there is a new grace in the manner of the telling. Although the form of the classical measures is not followed, something of their spirit lives in a compact simplicity of energetic thought, in epigrammatic elegance and clearness of expression. The rare power of expressing a thought perfectly in a few musical words, and those of the simplest, which is one great charm of the Greek and Latin lyrics to the modern reader, in spite of the less apt structure of our language is often to a singular degree reproduced in these metrical tales. Several of the stanzas, in the passage we have just quoted, remind us strongly of the grace of the compact Latin of Horace.

We may observe also a particular effect produced by the construction of this stanza. The sudden shortening of the third line before the launching of the fourth, which is further pointed, without being thrown out of harmony, by the appending of one short syllable to a cadence like that of the opening lines, gives to that final line a prominence which adapts the stanza singularly well for the expression of emphatic turns of thought.

Omarthes sent offer of alliance to the Persian prince, to whom, for three months, in his nightly dreams a fair face had appeared. He loved the vision of his dream, and refused the offer of the Scythian. But who was she who came in vision of the night?

The chief priest of the Magi, since his magic failed, fell back upon his wisdom as a mortal, and reported that the vision was of Medea, Colchian Mother of the Medes.

Her spirit lingers in these Orient airs,  
And guards the children of her latest love,  
Thus, hovering over thee,  
She warms thy heart to love in her—those children.

As in her presence thou didst feel thy soul  
Lodged in a temple, so the Queen commands  
That thou restore the fane  
And deck the altars where her Medus worshipped;

And in the spirit-breath which balm'd the morn  
Is symbolized the incense on our shrines,  
Which, as thou renderest here,  
Shall wait thee after death to the Immortals.

Seek, then, no talisman against the dream,  
Obey its mandates, and return its love;  
So shall thy reign be blest,  
And in Zariades revive a Medus.'

Friend, sighed the King, 's'beit I needs must own  
All dreams mean temples, where a Mage explains,  
Yet when a young man dreams  
Of decking altars, 'tis not for Medea.'

He said and turned to lose himself in groves,  
Shunning the sun. In wrath against the stars  
The Mage resought his tower.  
And that same day went back the Scythian envoys.

But from the night which closed upon that day,  
The image of the dream began to fade,  
Fainter and paler seen,  
With saddened face and outlines veiled in vapour;

At last it vanished as a lingering star  
Fades on Cithæron from a Mænad's eyes,  
Mid cymbal, fife, and horn,  
When sunrise flashes on the Car of Panthers.

As the dream fled, broke war upon the land:  
The Scythian hosts had crossed the Tanais,  
And, where the dreamer dreamed,  
An angry King surveyed his Asian armies.

Who first in fault, the Scythian or the Mede,  
Who first broke compact, or transgressed a bound,  
Historic scrolls dispute  
As Scyth or Mede interprets dreams in story.

Enough for war when two brave nations touch,  
With rancour simmering in the hearts of kings;  
War is the child of cloud  
Oftentimes stillest just before the thunder.

The armies met in that vast plain whereon  
The Chaldee, meeting out the earth, became  
The scholar of the stars,—  
A tombless plain, yet has it buried empires.

Here we see the quick play of various expression, and if we had room to quote farther, should see the verse next passing into lively presentment of an ancient battle scene. Omarthes was defeated, and repassed in flight his brazen portals. He sought recruits of the fiercer tribes about him.

And the tribes answered—' Let the Scythian King  
Return repentant to old Scythian ways,  
And laugh with us at foes.  
Wains know no sieges—Freedom moves her cities.'

Omarthes was besieged. And in his besieged city Argiope his daughter moved "pale with a sorrow too divine for fear." For she also had dreamed. Omarthes refused tribute of earth and water to the Mede. His high priest who had aforetime warned him how he had forgot to bid his masons close the chinks of stone against calamity, now told him how, when the city was built, he had caused to be made secretly an underground way out into the open plain.

And as thou hast, inviolate to the Scyth,  
His country saved, that country yet to thee  
Stretches out chainless arms,  
And for these walls gives plains that mock besiegers,

Traversed by no invader save the storm,  
Nor girt by watchfires nearer than the stars,  
Beneath these regal halls  
Know that there lies a road which leads to safety.'

Omarthes answered—' With the towers I built  
Must I, O kind adviser, stand or fall.  
Kings are not merely men—  
Epochs their lives, their actions the world's story.

I sought to wean my people from the wild,  
To centre scattered valours, wasted thoughts,  
Into one mind, a State;  
Falling in this, my life as king has perished;

'And as mere man I should disdain to live,  
Deemest thou now I could go back content  
A Scyth among the Scythas?  
I am no eagle—I have borne the eagle.'

But his young daughter might be led out into safety and become Queen of the nomad tribes. The King, said the Seer, had chosen to stand or fall by his towers. "Priests may not choose; they stand or fall by shrines." But the young warrior of the Scythas whom the maid chose for her husband by offering him the cup at a feast, he might go out with her and share her throne. The trusted traitor Seuthes was then taken into counsel, and when he had learnt the mystery of the secret way, hoped to become ruler in Scythia, by betraying it to the Persians as a way of entering the city. Scorning the traitor, Zariades yet tried the path he showed. His steel-clad soldiers halted in the secret way, while he advanced to the door within the city. It was a door opening upon the banquet chamber, in which sad Argiope had passively taken the cup, and was in low voice encouraged by the priest.

She shivered as he spoke, but, lips firm-pressed  
Imprisoning all the anguish at her heart,  
She filled the fatal cup,  
Raised her sad eyes, and vaguely gazed around her.

Sudden those eyes took light and joy and soul,  
Sudden from neck to temples flushed the rose,  
And with quick, gliding steps,  
And the strange looks of one who walks in slumber

She passed along the floors, and stooped above  
A form, that, as she neared, with arms outstretched,  
On bended knees sunk down  
And took the wine-cup with a hand that trembled:

A form of youth—and nobly beautiful  
As Dorian models for Ionian gods.  
'Again!' it murmured low,  
'O dream, at last! at last! how I have missed thee!'

And she replied, 'The gods are merciful,  
Keeping me true to thee when I despaired.'  
But now rose every guest,  
Rose every voice in anger and in terror;

For lo, the kneeler lifted over all  
The front of him their best had fled before—  
'Zariades the Mede!'  
Rang from each lip: from each sheath flashed the sabre:

Thrice stamped the Persian's foot: to the first sound  
Ten thousand bucklers echoed back a clang;  
The next, and the huge walls  
Shook with the war-shout of ten thousand voices;

The third, and as between divided cloud  
Flames fierce with deathful pest an angry sun,  
The folds, flung rudely back,  
Disclosed behind one glare of serried armour.

On either side, the Persian or the Scyth,  
The single lord of life and death to both,  
Stayed, by a look, vain strife;  
And passing onward amid swords uplifted,

A girl's slight form beside him his sole guard,  
He paused before the footstool of the King,  
And in such tones as soothe  
The wrath of injured fathers, said submissive—

'I have been guilty to the gods and thee  
Of man's most sinful sin,—ingratitude;  
That which I pined for most  
Seen as a dream, my waking life rejected;

'Now on my knees that blessing I implore.  
Give me thy daughter; but a son receive,  
And blend them both in one  
As the mild guardian of the Scythian River.'

There is a grim, antique, poetic humour in the next tale, that of Death and Sisyphus. But the example we have given of one story will declare the charm and interest of all. Abstract discussion may be raised over the unrhymed metres, but there can be no doubt that they are used with singular skill, and lend a new grace to the genius of one who is unrivalled master of this kind of story-telling.

*Modern Characteristics.* A Series of Short Essays from the 'Saturday Review.' Tinsley Brothers.

This is a volume of good thought put suggestively in the true essay form. When Bacon wrote essays the word "essay" was still understood in the original sense that abides by its other form, "assay," and meant a trial or testing of some matter. Bacon in his essays having started some such question of man's life as unity in religion, study, or colonization, indicated some of the converging lines of thought which may be held to meet in a point representing the right apprehension of the subject. The author of these papers goes back to Bacon's way of essay writing, attempts no picturesque sketches of life or bookish criticisms, but takes various points in the surface of existing society through which to give two or three thrusts of the intellectual probe and find what it is that at each point lies under the surface. He cannot show his insight by such pregnant sentences as Bacon wrote, but he takes evident pains to escape alike from commonplace writing and from commonplace thinking, to give every sentence the clear ring of unaffected English; and, without pedantic jargon of analysis, to make real attempts at the resolution of some "Modern Characteristics" into their true elements. He does this with varying success, but always in the manner of one who can think and write with genuine ability. There is no smallness in his suggestion of motives, his tone of mind is large and liberal, though Baconian also in its absence of enthusiasm. Ye there is a philosophical appreciation of enthusiasm. Here, for example, is a keen suggestion, and one probably that could have come only from a man who has himself felt the stir of which he speaks, a common experience of all

generous natures. Common as it is, it is not often mentioned; here it is both mentioned and accounted for. In the essay on 'Vague Aims,' when speaking of the reveries of busy men, he says:

The lawyer, for the short time that law leaves him the free use of his imaginative faculties, if he has any, receives a new stimulus and new energy in the drudgery of his profession whenever he sees a play or hears an opera, because the excitement makes him more ready to believe the possibility of his attaining what he wishes. If he is a fool, of course he may sit dreaming all day long in his chambers, waiting for a Queen's Messenger with the Great Seal in his pocket; but the loftiness of his aim found him a fool to begin with, and did not make him one. If, on the other hand, he is a sensible man—sensible, that is, for legal purposes—he will work like a slave at his precedents, statutes, cases, and all the rest of it; but whenever he comes within range of any powerful work of imagination, whether poetry or music or anything else, he will still find himself dreaming about the glory of his career.

Here there is the right attribution of the swell of thought to the excitement of the fancy, and we have duly worked out in a succeeding passage an acute perception of the substantial use of these moments of reverie. They lift a man out of himself, give him a bird's-eye view of his place in the great race of life, and enable him to look far onward to what he accounts the mark of his high calling. Win what he may, the true man, like St Paul, in every good race accounts himself always as not having attained. In those snatches of excitement, when an active man's imagination is set free, imagination is the busy servant of his reason. It turns to him the noble side of his life's drudgery, he feels the fit issue to which his work, that can be done only by close and steady drudging labour, should yet tend. In those half-hours of exaltation which come when the prison house of his fancy has been unlocked by a Dante, a Milton, or a Beethoven, he may get the comprehensive glance over the ground about him which enables him to correct any mistake made in his route while he plodded on between the customary hedges, and shows him perhaps, in the glance of a moment, the straight way to the attainment of some worthy purpose. Such a reverie may serve now and then the purpose of a general's balloon reconnaissance to the man who spends the main part of his life in energetic action.

But in that sort of intellectual balloon reconnaissance the motive must be to aid action in the future, not to excuse failure in the past, or find a reason for inaction in the present. The unsuccessful man has also his own way of taking what he believes to be a bird's-eye view of life, but it is not the sort of view to which men may be lifted when their souls begin to vibrate to the spiritual throbbings of Beethoven's music. In another of these essays—the first in the book, and indeed its opening sentences,—we read:

It would be very interesting to know how many even sensible men over forty are free from a conviction that, at some point in the journey of their lives, they have taken a wrong turning, and in how many cases the grounds of self-reproach would be found to be quite baseless. People often are fond of attributing to a false step a want of success that is really due to incapacity. A man persuades himself, for instance, that he might have been at the head of his profession if he had only adopted some other course than the one he actually followed at a certain stage in his career, when the truth is that, whatever course he had adopted, he could never have risen beyond the level of mediocrity. The reflection soothes his vanity and restores his self-esteem. For, although the fact of having taken a wrong turning indicates in itself a deficiency of judgment, still everybody is ready to pardon himself for a weakness which he thinks is only temporary. To be able to trace the failure of a life to a single blunder permits one to believe that, on all other occasions, everything has been done to ensure success that mortal could do. We are naturally very lenient to ourselves if we can think that we have not lost our way more than once or twice, and that afterwards no pains or discretion have been spared in endeavouring to recover the lost ground. Ill-fortune bears the blame for all the rest.

There is an essay upon Social Salamanders, meaning thereby people who contrive to be always walking through some fiery furnace of censure or persecution, as indifferent to all the roaring of the fire around them as so many Shadrachs, Meshachs, and Abednegos. Some others dare the furnace, get burnt, and draw back; and some there are who know how to do all of which the passage through the furnace is appointed penalty, and yet escape being thrust in.

Nearly every thoughtful person can find points in which he dislikes the conduct or opinions of those about him, and in which he is not disposed to let himself conform to them. In order to hold his ground in these respects without losing ground elsewhere, he must have both courage and knack. The first is easier and commoner than the second. Plenty of men have pluck enough to touch the hot metal, but then they get burnt. They boldly defy popular and orthodox opinion—for instance, about the Darwin controversy, or the Pentateuch, or the observance of Sunday. Then they suddenly find themselves branded with a dozen evil names. A man of another sort will contrive to hold just the same unfashionable opinions, and even to express them to a tolerably wide extent, without receiving any punishment whatever. He understands the trick of dealing with the fiery element. This is by no means saying that the clever salamander is the nobler or worthier of the two. He seems to have the best of it, and so he has in one sense. Still, as a rule, the other would probably rather be without the knack, and bear whatever wounds he may get inflicted on him with as much equanimity as he happens to be master of.

The persecuted man may glory in his martyrdom, and "rather be without the knack" of doing a right work without incurring hatred. Some kinds of good work—among the theologians for example—the gentlest men may be the most reviled for doing. But nine-tenths of the labour of man, let it run counter as much as it may to the prejudices of his neighbours, can be done strenuously, and yet with a patient faith in the good fellowship of men that disarms all cruelty of opposition. As this essayist points out, the man who has great principles to enforce against prejudice is to blame if he excite antagonism by setting himself against the world in matters of indifference. For an earnest man to affect singularity in hats and coats is to

establish a false emphasis, directing strong attention to the trivial things of his life, and diverting it more than proportionately from its essentials. More than proportionately, because the ill-chosen point of emphasis is evidence of a weak judgment that invites distrust of his opinion in greater things.

In all questions of principle, in all that pertains to his true work in life, let a man be firm to the death. But if he would be wise in small things that he may accomplish great ones the more easily, let him avoid making himself a walking contradiction to his neighbours upon any point in which he may with a good conscience subdue his personal tastes into a pleasant harmony with customs of the world in which he lives. In secular work it is usually more or less the absence of a tact that is true wisdom, or fault of the worker's temper, if his neighbours force him through the furnace for his opposition to their prejudices. A man or a nation can be got to turn out for a long walk, arm in arm with a reformer, showing courtesy that springs from fellowship and trust; though if the same reformer kicked his way through the front door, and took the object of his friendly solicitude by the ears to drag him out, he might be sent forth alone with a return kick through the window. But the quiet walk is dull to the man of battles:

The people in whom nature or education has implanted an easy and tolerant temper scarcely know of how much and what peculiarly intense delight they are depriving themselves. They hear hostile opinions and witness conduct of which they do not wholly approve without any burning desire to pervert or convert the offender. They can endure without impatience any amount of difference of sentiment on the part of those around them as to all imaginable subjects. They will not believe that truth can never have any other aspect than that which is presented to themselves, and is never to be found out of the track in which they are content to seek their own portion of it. There is a poor sort of comfort in such a state of mind, it must be confessed. It makes the world go somewhat easier with us. Philosophy has taught that truth can only come out of the conflict of antagonistic opinions. Religion, too, enjoins upon us the practice of charity as the chief of virtues. And it is rather soothing to find oneself living in harmony with the conclusions of philosophy, and in obedience to the precepts of religion. But what are these lesser delights compared to the fiery joys of intolerance and persecution? An ox browsing in a meadow is comfortable enough, but the pleasures of his life are unpleasantly tame and mean when compared with the fierce energetic delights of a panther or a hyena. The sweets of brotherly love are all very well in their way, but they are unendurably insipid to those who have accustomed their palates to the sweets of hatred and malice and all uncharitableness. The pleasure of forgiving an enemy may satisfy a mild and lukewarm nature. The pleasure of hunting him down, and reviling him, and calumniating his name is much more gratifying to men and women of spirit. No conviction is worth the name unless it is strong enough to make a man go through fire and water to punish all who do not share it with him. To take as much trouble as possible to form your own opinion aright, and then to leave others alone to go through the same process on their own account, is pitiful work indeed. There is no excitement in this, no room for that animosity and spitefulness and bad language which render the profession of the intolerant partisan so genuinely delightful. Let not liberal and enlightened people suppose for a moment that all the peace of mind is on their side.

These are the closing sentences of the last essay, and with these we part from the book; commending it again most heartily for its good thought clearly expressed in sound and simple English.

*The War in New Zealand.* By William Fox, A.M. Oxon, late Colonial Secretary and Native Minister of the Colony. With Two Maps and a Plan. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr Fox writes very sensibly, and with evident understanding of the details of his subject. Whether he be right or wrong in his judgment,—for ourselves we are disposed to think him not much in the wrong,—his book is well worth reading, as giving a further and more precise account of the facts of the recent New Zealand wars than has hitherto appeared. It is well planned and agreeably worked out, tracing in a connected way the progress of affairs, and interspersing the narrative with comments apparently judicious, and at any rate consistent and intelligent. He has, at least, good excuse for writing his book, in the very frequent ignorance displayed on the subject. "One noble lord," he says, "a member of Parliament, giving a summary of events on a public platform, misstates the arrival of Governor Grey in the colony by nearly two whole years. Another speaks of events happening at Waikato as if they had occurred at Taranaki, two hundred miles away; while a third, hearing of the campaign at Tauranga, a district as large as an English county, asks, 'Who is this "Tauranga" I never heard of him before.'" Here again:

I cannot refrain from noting the account of the Tauranga campaign given in a recent number of the *Church Missionary Record*, December, 1865, p. 339. "The war having exhausted itself in Waikato, now reached the eastern districts. The land of the natives was confiscated at Tauranga. They flew to arms, and sanguinary collisions ensued. The exasperation of the natives being extreme, very many of them cast off their Christianity, and embraced the Hau fanaticism, which promised speedy victory and vengeance on the Europeans. The first disastrous result was the murder of Mr Volkner at Opotiki." This paragraph contains five statements, every one of which is untrue. 1. The war began on the east coast while that in Waikato was at its height. 2. No confiscation whatever had either been made or talked of at Tauranga, and none was ever effected there till the campaign was entirely over. 3. The Maories who "rushed to arms" in consequence of this imaginary confiscation, had been already in arms, and fighting with the Queen's troops in Waikato, for many months before hostilities commenced at Tauranga. 4. The Hau Hau fanaticism did not commence its career at Taranaki till the war at Tauranga was nearly over; and when the survivors at the latter place submitted, it had not even reached them. 5. Mr Volkner was not murdered by Tauranga natives, but by entirely distinct tribes, who had nothing to do with the Tauranga campaign, and who lived sixty or seventy miles off. The event happened nearly a year after the Tauranga affair.

The general effect, I fear the intent, of the paragraph is to create sympathy for the natives as a people forced into rebellion by the confiscation of their lands, and to excite a prejudice against the Colonial Government. It is not creditable to a respectable society like the Church Missionary Society, to circulate such misstatements, which are given in the narrative portion of their periodical with all the weight of editorial authority.

Mr Fox does not think ill of the aborigines of New Zealand; but he maintains that they and their unwise English friends are mainly answerable for the recent troubles. The Maories, like other sturdy savages, are soldiers by nature. "For centuries past, as far as we know, till the colonization of the country by us, the several tribes waged constant and internecine war with each other. As soon as their crops were in the ground they began fighting, and generally fought till they were ripe. The most trivial cause would give rise to the most bloody war, and the feud would be handed down from father to son." For a time the settlement of English colonists had the effect of restraining this love of bloodshed, and the white men, looked upon as a superior race, were thought quite unassailable until 1844 and 1845, when two insignificant wars, properly entered upon but carried through in a very slovenly way, had a very unfortunate result.

They entirely destroyed the prestige which the Queen's troops had previously enjoyed in the eyes of the natives. Our operations were conducted with so little military skill; our disasters were so serious and so many; the losses of the natives were so small, and they outwitted and out-generalled us on so many occasions, that though for the reasons above stated fighting ceased, yet a feeling of supreme contempt for the soldiers became permanently and generally impressed on the native mind. The only superiority on our part which they would admit after these wars, was the possession of greater resources in the shape of arms and ammunition, a conclusion which stimulated them to the acquisition at any cost of means which alone they believed to be wanting to give them an absolute superiority in case of future hostilities. Governor Grey very wisely threw all the difficulties he could in the way of their acquiring "munitions of war;" and by imposing restrictions on their sale he succeeded in reducing it to pretty nearly the limits of a smuggling trade. Governor Browne unfortunately relaxed the restrictions imposed by his predecessor, and within the three following years the natives purchased and stored up not less than 50,000, worth of arms and ammunition, which, with what they had previously accumulated, sufficed to supply, probably, every adult native in the island with a serviceable fire-arm, and the means of using it for several years of active warfare. It was no doubt the possession of such resources, combined with the estimate formed of the military prowess of our troops, which emboldened the natives, when they thought the time had arrived, to defy the power of the British nation.

While these things were going on, the missionaries and the Colonial Government vied with one another in efforts to gloss over the native habits with a show of civilization.

For three or four years, what has been called the "flour and sugar policy" prevailed. Mills more numerous than they could use were erected for them at the public expense—millers and engineers paid to work them; ploughs, harrows, threshing-machines, carts, and other agricultural implements were scattered broadcast through the country, particularly among those tribes which have since gone most deeply into the rebellion; and it really appeared as if the Maori race, recognizing the dignity of labour, was at last going to qualify itself for a place among civilized people by a life of industry and the gradual progress of social organization. At all events, it seemed to justify the glowing pictures which Governor Grey, at the period of the termination of his first administration, drew in his despatches to the Home Government, parading the advancement of the native race, and their attachment to his rule, and leaving it to be inferred that he had solved the problem which had baffled all other statesmen, of rescuing a savage race from the annihilation usually attendant on its contact with a civilized people. There were, however, not a few persons in the colony who had no faith in the "flour and sugar policy"—at least when unaccompanied by means of regeneration which might strike their roots deeper into human nature. They failed to discover either in the practical action of Governor Grey, or in the numerous despatches which he addressed to the Colonial Office, any indications that he appreciated the real difficulty of the position of the Maori race—their political relations towards the European portion of the community of which they were to form a part. He left the colony without having either established or suggested any policy or any institutions by which that difficulty might be conquered; and that at a most critical period, when the bestowal of representative institutions rendered it impossible longer to evade a difficulty, the pressure of which was little felt while colonists and natives both remained under the "paternal rule" of the Colonial Office, equally debarred of all political power.

In 1848, greatly encouraged by this pampering of the natives, arose the two subjects of dispute, out of which all the subsequent troubles have sprung, the Land League and the King movement. The Land League, Mr Fox assures us, was supported only by the worst tribes of Maories. Those who really valued the civilization brought to them by the white men gladly gave them settlement among them, and granted them all necessary opportunities of constructing roads, canals, and other appliances of civilization. As long as the obstructive tribes kept their opposition to their own districts, no valid objection could be made. They punished themselves, and the wiser races had all the greater prosperity through the concentration of civilizing agencies in their own neighbourhoods. The founders of the Land League, seeing this, sought to make their will the law of the whole country. They used intimidation with the more peaceable and friendly tribes, and so promoted the general ill-feeling. A powerful organization was thus established, gaining most of its strength from the zeal with which the King movement was carried on by the most enterprising of the discontented Maories, and much assisted, Mr Fox alleges, by the errors of the Colonial Government.

Notwithstanding the paternal Government of the Colonial Office, and the liberal distribution of flour and sugar, the great tribes which held themselves aloof from the colonists, felt that they were not governed; at all events what Government there was among them was not to their liking. As early as 1848 the idea was entertained among them of appointing a king of their own. Their conceptions on the subject were no doubt exceedingly vague. They had never had among themselves any national head, nor any regular or constitutional form of government. But they had imbibed some notions of

our institutions, and they had studied in the Old Testament the history of monarchy among the Israelites. The result, so far as it ever took a definite shape, became a sort of parody of the two. At first a mere blind groping after a better form of self-government than they possessed, meriting the sympathy of all men, it rapidly degenerated into something little else than antagonism towards the Europeans, and an attempt to prescribe the limits of colonisation. At the time of the commencement of the present war (1862) it presented the following features: An elected king, a very young man of no force of character, surrounded by a few ambitious chiefs, who formed a little mock court, and by a body guard without shoes and with very tight stocks, who kept him from all vulgar contact, and from even the inspection of Europeans, except on humiliating terms; entirely powerless to enforce among his subjects the decisions of his magistrates; an army, if it might be called so, of 5,000 to 10,000 followers scattered over the country, but organized so that large numbers could be concentrated on any one point on short notice; large accumulated supplies of food, of arms, and ammunition; a position in the centre of the island from which a descent could be made in a few hours on any of the European settlements; roads prohibited to be made through two-thirds of the island; the large rivers barred against steamers, so that nine-tenths of the country was closed against the ordinary means of travel and transport; the Queen's law set at utter defiance; her magistrates treated with supercilious contempt; her writs torn to pieces and trampled under foot; Europeans who had married native women driven out of the king districts, while their wives and children were taken from them, unless they would recognize and pay an annual tribute to the king; all this accompanied by an exhibition of the utmost arrogance, and undisguised contempt for the power of the Queen, the Governor, and the Europeans.

Many believe (I do so myself) that in its early stages "kingism" might have been moulded into something useful, and have proved the means of elevating the native race, by the introduction of institutions subordinate to, and in harmony with, the European Government of the colony. The opportunity, however, was lost. Governor Browne's responsible advisers induced him to make the attempt, and it was attended for a time with considerable success; but his non-responsible native secretary persuaded him to abandon it, advising him that if he left kingism to itself, it would die a natural death. In making this fatal error, the Governor acted in opposition to the advice of his responsible advisers, and by virtue of the absolute power reserved to him in native affairs by the Imperial Government. The natural consequence of the *laissez faire* system soon followed. Kingism rapidly gained strength, and, "left to itself," it soon developed the features I have described, which, it will be admitted, were absolutely irreconcilable with the existence of the Queen's authority and the presence of the constitutional government established in the colony.

Thus war became a necessity. The 1860-61 war was forced upon us by the unwise treatment of native prejudices and excitement of native ambition. The latter wars have been made necessary by the brutal and barbarous ways in which the natives have shown their animosity. So at least thinks Mr Fox. He thinks also that the blame attaches to the Home Government and its agents in New Zealand, greatly influenced by missionary societies and other meddling bodies, not to the colonists themselves. The colonists, he assures us, have on the whole acted very fairly towards the natives. They have given them equal political rights with themselves, have given them free opportunities either of settling in the towns and civilized districts, or of taking full advantage of the imported civilization in their own wilder parts of the country. "Had the colonists from the first been allowed to arrange their own relations with the native race, and conduct their own political intercourse, no serious difficulty would have arisen between the two races." And had they, he adds, when the difficulties had arisen, been allowed to fight their own battles, they would long since have re-established peace. As it is, and after so many years of bungling warfare, he thinks we must look for continued fighting. We have excited too much hatred, often too much contempt, in the native mind for real friendship to be ever restored. We must prepare ourselves to fight on, by fits and starts, till the Maories are exterminated.

The native question is, however, only one of time, and I regret to say of very limited time. The race is melting away; and if there were no more war, and the Europeans were to leave the country tomorrow, the extinction of the Maori, in an exceedingly brief period, is as certain as anything human can be. A very few figures will show this.

In 1842, according to the best estimates which could be made, on the authority of missionaries and other long residents in the country, their number was 114,000. In 1850 a well-informed Wesleyan missionary estimated them at 70,000. In 1858 a Government census, generally supposed to be in excess, returned them at 55,970. The war and natural causes have by this time probably reduced them to 45,000. Carry on the calculation, and it is evident that the certain extinction of the race, except a few individuals, is a thing which many of us may live to witness.

The one great cause of this has been, and is, their utter disregard of all those social and sanitary conditions which are essential to the continuing vitality of the human race. The result is, the constitution of the Maori is absolutely decayed, and they do not produce children to replace the current generation of adults. A people that has no children must die out.

Shortly before leaving the colony I endeavoured to obtain statistical returns on this point; but at the time I left I had only received a few. They were, however, collected from various parts of the country, and represent tribes living in all the varied conditions of life which exist among them; some near large towns, some remote from any, some closely intermixed with Europeans, and some with scarcely an European among them. The result was an average of 100 males to 70 females, and less than fifty children under fifteen years of age. If these be the relative proportions all through the islands, and I have reason to believe that they are certainly not more favourable, only one conclusion can be arrived at as to the future of the race.

The proportion of children also is a conclusive proof of the cause which has really effected the reduction, and will, unless some great change takes place in the domestic life of the Maori, as certainly lead to its extinction. The habits of life which lead to this lamentable result are in no way attributable to the presence of the European in the country. They are, according to Wilkes, Chæver, and all who have studied the condition of the Polynesian race, universal wherever the race is found, and the one great cause of its rapid decline in all the islands which it inhabits. So long as the communistic and vicious social economy exists among them which has hitherto existed, the destiny of the race is certain. The missionaries had before the war altered the habits of the natives in many particulars; but this great evil they had barely, if at all, succeeded in touching. It is true scarcely a hint of it appears in their reports home; but they know well, and in conversation freely admit, the



magnitude and universal prevalence of habits which are sweeping the natives into an early grave. It has not been their intercourse with Europeans which has led to the result. That, for the most part, has led to the adoption of better food, better dwellings, better general habits of life. This cause was in existence long before there was an European in the islands, and there is little doubt that the race was on the decrease when Cook first landed there. I say there is little doubt, because it is impossible that a race with such habits of life as he describes could do otherwise than decrease.

If the Aborigines' Protection Society had devoted its energies to some systematic attempt to ameliorate the sanitary condition of the natives and to teach them the laws of life, not by writing feeble homilies in baby English, but by sending among them medical officers capable of teaching those laws, they might have earned the title they have assumed, and would have had the cordial co-operation of the colonists. Here is a field of practical utility open to them yet, though one which would cost both money and labour. Their interference with the political relations of the Maori, and especially their encouragement to him to hold on to that Nessus' shirt, the occupation of large unused tribal territory, has done much to bring him to his present forlorn condition. They have had pretty much their own way at the Colonial Office, and with Governor Grey, and the result of it is, that the war which was begun for the suppression of rebellion has now degenerated into a war of extermination, as far as a great part at least of the native race is concerned. They boast in their last report of the extent to which they have influenced the minds of the Secretary of State and Sir George Grey. I think both of those gentlemen must deeply regret having listened to such counsellors, when they look at the "bitter end" to which their advice has brought affairs in New Zealand. The opinion, which I have before expressed, "that the prolongation of the war has been owing to the interference of this society," has by its secretary been pronounced "monstrous." I can only say that in the colony it is very generally entertained. The *New Zealander* paper, which the Society has commended for its "noble" advocacy of native rights, speaking of a recent interference by it, says, "Nothing can be more inexcusable than the conduct of the Aborigines' Society throughout the *New Zealand war*; and to none has it rendered itself more truly obnoxious than to the party of moderation in this colony, which ardently desires peace, but declines to slander its fellow colonists, or to give the natives counsel which must lead them to destruction."

We have quoted freely from those chapters in which Mr Fox propounds his views as to the origin of the war and the condition of the people with whom we have been fighting, and must expect to fight again and again. We can do no more than commend his history of the fighting itself as a very readable, concise, and straightforward narrative.

## LONDON WATER SUPPLY.

(From the *Edinburgh Review*.)

Mr Bateman, whose large experience, as he affirms, in this special branch of engineering has made him acquainted with almost every available source of supply in the kingdom, and with all the conditions and circumstances which are essential to the carrying out of projects of this nature, proposes, as the nearest district from which 200,000,000 gallons per day of unexceptionable water can be obtained, the banks of the mountain ranges of Cader Idris and Plynlimon in North Wales, from which the river Severn is supplied—the very river whose impurities we have just described.

"Here," says he, "the direction of the mountain chains, the heights of their summits, their proximity to the sea, their geographical position, and physical peculiarities, entitle us to expect a very large fall of rain. A summit ridge or line of watershed of irregular height and direction, extending from north to south, is crossed and broken by several parallel ranges of mountains extending from south-west to north-east, the intervening valleys on the west side of their irregular summit being quite open to the westerly winds. The valleys on this side, walled in as they are by mountains rising at their peaks to 2,500 and 2,900 feet in height, and so raising their heads above the general level of the rain clouds, form, as it were, so many funnels, up which the clouds are driven over the low passes at the summit line of watershed into the valleys on the east, where, sheltered from the wind, they discharge the bulk of their watery contents."

Assuming forty-five inches of rainfall as the annual net produce of two or three successive dry years upon this drainage ground, but in order to come within the limits of perfect safety, basing his calculations on thirty-six inches only, as the assured annual rainfall, the engineer determines his drainage areas, and tabulates them with their produce in an appendix. They consist of two principal districts, one of 66,000 acres in extent is situated a little to the east of the range of mountains, of which Cader Idris and Aran Mowddwy are the highest summits, and form the drainage ground of the rivers Banw and Vyrnwy, which join the Severn about half way between Welshpool and Shrewsbury. We ourselves know from a ramble along its banks how clear and limpid a stream the Vyrnwy is, and how free from the ordinary sources of pollution. The other district of about an equal area is situated immediately to the east of Plynlimon, and forms the drainage ground of the upper portion of the river Severn proper. From the two rivers just named, together with the river Severn branch of the scheme, about 222,223,665 gallons of water per diem could be obtained for 120 days of a year, or about 190,477,767 gallons per diem for 140 days of a year. By a system of vast reservoirs, forming lakes of four or five miles in length, an aqueous reserve would be found sufficient for 140 days' supply, in case of long dry weather. Amongst the reservoirs on the Severn would be one which by an embankment seventy-five feet in height, might contain 2,230,000,000 cubic feet; this single reservoir being considerably greater than the entire available water in Loch Katrine.

These waters might be readily conveyed by engineering science to London. They would start with a good heading, the discharge pipes of the lowest reservoir in each district being placed at an elevation of about 450 feet above the level of Trinity high-water mark. Mr Bateman proposes to bring them by separate aqueducts, respectively of nineteen miles and twenty-one and a half miles in length, to a point of junction lying north-east of the town of Montgomery, whence the joint volume of water might be brought by a common aqueduct crossing the river Severn close to Bridgnorth. Then, after pursuing its level way through various towns, it would extend to the high land near Stanmore, where capacious service-reservoirs must be constructed, at an elevation of at least 250 feet above Trinity high-water mark. From the reservoirs the water could be delivered to all London at high pressure, and upon the constant supply system—that advantage which so many persons have been for so many years loudly demanding. The length of the common aqueduct would be 152 miles, and it would be capable of carrying the entire 220 million gallons per diem. The total distance from the lowest reservoir on the Vyrnwy would be 171 miles, and the total distance from the reservoirs on the Severn 173 miles. Adding the length of piping from the service-reservoirs to London, namely about ten miles, the entire distance would be 183 miles. There will be no engineering difficulties, the works all being exceedingly simple in their construction. No embankment of a reservoir will be more than eighty feet in height, and they will be placed in situations where either hard impervious clay or solid Silurian rocks afford the means of making perfectly safe and water-tight reservoirs.

The total cost for the first supply of 120 million gallons per diem, sufficient for the commencement, would be about 8,600,000*l.* Mr Bateman enters rather minutely into the items, and aims to justify his estimate and its practicability. In this we shall not follow him, confidently believing that if on all other grounds the scheme is commendable, and capable of being satisfactorily executed, finance would not be a final obstacle to its adoption. Some suggestions on this point might be added to those of Mr Bateman; but it is sufficient at present to notice that while he estimates the total first cost at 8,600,000*l.*, and the total annual expenditure (composed of interest upon the above sum at 4 per cent., cost of management and working expenses, together with payment of dividends to existing companies, &c.) at 944,000*l.*, he also calculates upon a total annual income, to meet the above charges, of 950,000*l.* This would be the revenue at the commencement, but every succeeding year would bring an increase of the area of taxation in proportion to the extension of the metropolis, and at the same time an increase of revenue, while the annual expenses would remain nearly stationary until the full quantity of water capable of being brought by the aqueduct might be exhausted. And one great advantage of such a project is that there would be no fear of exhausting the sources, as in case of a river, for coincident with enlarged demands would come enlargement of supply by having recourse to contiguous mountain districts. The whole district referred to abounds in good drainage areas, now would it be necessary to abolish the existing supply of the New River Company, which, being deliverable by gravitation, and comparatively pure, might be regarded as an auxiliary to the great supply from the Welsh mountains.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

**FINE ART.**—'A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century.' Drawn up from Fresh Materials and Recent Researches in the Archives of Italy: as well as from Personal Inspection of the Works of Art scattered throughout Europe. By J. A. Crowe and O. B. Cavalcaselle, Authors of 'The Early Flemish Painters.' Vol. III. (8vo, pp. xii, 618.) Murray.

**HISTORY.**—'Garibaldi at Home.' Notes of a Visit to Caprera. By Sir Charles R. McGrigor, Bart. (8vo, pp. xi, 318.) Hurst and Blackett.

**LITERATURE.**—'Robinson Crusoe.' Edited after the Original Editions. By J. W. Clark, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (12mo, pp. xii, 607.) Macmillan and Co.—'The Last Hundred Years of English Literature.' By Charles Grant. (Post 8vo, pp. viii, 220.) Jans: Frommann. London: Williams and Norgate.—'Fenny Readings in Prose and Verse.' Selected and Edited by J. E. Carpenter, Compiler of 'Songs: Sacred and Devotional.' Library Edition. In Three Volumes. (Fcap. 8vo, pp. viii, 505; viii, 504; viii, 480.) Warne and Co.

**PHILOSOPHY.**—'The Battle of the Two Philosophies.' By an Inquirer. (Crown 8vo, pp. 88.) Longmans, Green, and Co.

**CHURCH.**—'Essays on the Irish Church.' By Clergymen of the Established Church in Ireland. (8vo, pp. iv, 230.) Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker.—'Rivington's Ecclesiastical Year-Book for 1865.' (Fcap. 8vo, pp. vi, 342.) London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons.

**COOKERY.**—'Fish and How to Cook It.' By Elizabeth Watts, Author of 'Vegetables and Flowers; and How to Grow them.' (Fcap. 8vo, pp. 140.) Warne and Co.—'How to Cook and Serve Eggs in One Hundred Different Ways.' By Georgiana Hill, Author of 'How to Cook Apples.' 'How to Cook Rabbits,' etc. (Fcap. 8vo, pp. 63.) To Household Manuals Routledge and Sons.

**FICTION.**—'The Man of his Day.' A Novel. In Three Volumes. (Crown 8vo, pp. viii, 311; viii, 304; viii, 288.) Chapman and Hall.—'Three Hundred a Year.' A Novel. By the Hon. Mrs Henry Weyland Threwynd. In Two Volumes. (Post 8vo, pp. 307, 306.) Tinsley Brothers.—'The Dayrells.' A Domestic Story. By the Viscountess Enfield. (Crown 8vo, pp. 284.) Warne and Co.—'Plain John Orpington.' By the Author of 'Lord Lynn's Wife,' 'Lady Flavia,' etc. In Three Volumes. (Post 8vo, pp. 292, 303, 320.) Bentley.

**VERSE.**—'Lays of the English Cavaliers.' By John J. Daniell, Perpetual Curate of Langley Fitzmaurice, Wilts. (Small 4to, pp. iv, 114.) Oxford and London: Parker and Co.

**QUARTERLY.**—'The Edinburgh Review.' No. 252.

**TWICE A MONTH.**—'The Fortnightly Review.' No. XXVII.

The third volume of Messrs Crowe and Cavalcaselle's ample 'History of Painting in Italy,' from the second to the sixteenth century, is the best of the books published this week. It treats of painters of the fifteenth century, among others Luca Signorelli and his pupils; the painters of the school of Siena and Perugia; the Florentines of the close of the fifteenth and rise of the sixteenth century, Fra Bartolommeo, Ghirlandaio, Andrea del Sarto. The volume includes thirty-three illustrations from chief compositions of these artists.

Sir Charles McGrigor, who was deputed to convey to Garibaldi the desire of London subscribers that he would accept their present of a yacht, produces a book describing his expedition, and relating what he saw and heard of Garibaldi at Caprera.

After the manner of 'Aids to Faith,' four rectors of the Protestant Church in Ireland, calling itself "the Irish Church," produce a volume of five essays, designed to controvert the general impression that the establishment is not by any means a blessing to the country. Two of the essays are by the Rev. James Byrne, Rector of Cappagh; the other three are by the Rev. Arthur W. Edwards, Rector of Tamlaght Finlagan, who divides with Mr Byrne the office of Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Derry, the Rev. William Anderson, Rector of Raymunderdong, and the Rev. A. T. Lea, Rector of Ahoghill.

The eternal Mill and Hamilton discussion continues to produce pamphlets and books.

Mr J. W. Clark has edited, in Messrs Macmillan's "Golden Treasury Series," the two parts of 'Robinson Crusoe,' carefully printed from the original editions, exact even to the spelling, which is, of course, not archaic enough to be troublesome to any reader. Mutilated and modified editions of this English classic are so much the rule, that a cheap and pretty copy of it, rigidly exact to the original, will be a prize to many book-buyers.

Mr J. E. Carpenter has been producing capital shilling volumes of extracts from literature more or less good, but always entertaining. Their contents are now issued in a library edition of three well-filled volumes, admirably suited to their purpose as a repository of popular pieces for penny readings, but not less useful as a household table-book, in which young and old readers, but especially the young, may find a store of pleasant thought in jest and earnest for any odd half-hour of recreation.

\* \* \* We shall begin next week a series of articles upon THE PICTURES OF THE YEAR.

## IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

In the HOUSE OF LORDS, on MONDAY, Earl Russell moved the second reading of the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, and stated the history of the measure and of Parliamentary oaths generally, showing that those which were now imposed had no adaptation to the circumstances of the present time, and therefore ought not to be retained.

The Earl of DERBY said that on all hands it was admitted that those portions of the existing oaths which were offensive and unnecessary ought to be abolished, but the question was whether that portion which was introduced for the protection of the Protestant church, and especially in Ireland, should be repealed. He agreed that there should be one uniform oath; but it should contain expressions of allegiance to the reigning monarch, recognize the Protestant succession to the throne, and the supremacy of the Crown. He did not propose then to offer any opposition to the bill, but he desired that in committee some provision should be made for retaining those points.

After some discussion, Lord CHELMSFORD gave notice that in committee he should move as an amendment to the sixth section of the bill the words, "provided always that the repeal of these acts or any parts thereof shall not be construed to weaken or in any way to affect any laws or statutes now in force for preserving and upholding the supremacy of our lady the Queen, her heirs and successors, in all matters civil and ecclesiastical within this realm."

Earl Russell intimated that it was possible that the amendment might be acceded to.

After further debate the second reading was agreed to. The County Courts Bill passed through committee.

In the HOUSE OF COMMONS, on MONDAY, Mr J. Goldamid and Sir J. Matheson took the oaths and their seats for Honiton and Ross-shire respectively.

The report of the Reigate election committee was brought up, and stated that Mr Granville William Leveson-Gower was not duly elected, that the election was void, and that Mr Gower had by his agents been guilty of bribery.

The Cambridge election committee also reported that Mr Forsyth was not duly returned, and that the election was void.

Mr MARSH asked whether the Government had come to any final determination with regard to the promised bill for the redistribution of seats; what boroughs, if any, are to be amalgamated with others; what, if any, are to be totally disfranchised; what are to be partially disfranchised, and how the seats taken from those boroughs are to be distributed; and whether it is the intention of the Government to keep its views on these subjects concealed from members of the House until after the discussion on the present bill.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that he was not in the habit of stating the final determination of the Government until he did so in the form of a measure; as to the second question, that could not be answered *visa voce*, but only by the provisions of the bill; and as to the third question, which implied that he could not do what he had said he would do, he must postpone his answer until he addressed the House on the amendment now before it. The right hon. gentleman then asked Sir F. Kelly whether he would consent to postpone his motion on the malt-tax, which stood for this day, in favour of the debate on the Franchise Bill.

Sir F. KELLY said he would do so if the Government would give him a day for his motion before the introduction of the Budget.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER being unable to pledge himself to that.

Sir F. KELLY said he must bring on his motion.

The adjourned debate on the Franchise Bill was resumed by Mr MAGUIRE, who asked if Parliament was pledged to a Reform Bill; whether there was any overpowering reason why it should not be fulfilled; and lastly, whether the present was the proper time to redeem it; and argued out at length these propositions in the affirmative, especially dwelling on the fitness of the working class for the franchise, and pronouncing, with a touch of personality, against the diatribes of Mr Horsman and Mr Lowe against the democracy which they seemed to dread would ensue in the adoption of the present measure. Contending for a Franchise Bill, he argued that the franchise was a question for the country at large, while the redistribution of seats was one of personal political influence.

Lord DUNKELIN followed; and signified his intention of opposing the second reading of the bill, and supporting the amendment.

Mr W. E. FORSTER observed that there was inconsistency between the amendment and the speeches which had been made in support of it; for whereas the amendment deprecated discussion of the bill, nothing had been done but to discuss its principle and provisions. He urged that the proportions of the bill were such as at one time, as he thought, the advanced Liberals would not have accepted it; but now, when they were so moderate as to accept it, efforts were busily made to prevent their having it. Nobody denied that the best qualified of the working class ought to have the franchise; and it was difficult to conceive a more safe plan for doing so than that proposed by the bill, for it would apply to the most careful, industrious, orderly, and intelligent of the artisan class. He argued against the alleged danger of the combination of the working classes for purposes of political domination, and urged that the only real bond of union that could exist would be derived from a persistence in excluding that class from the suffrage.

The debate was continued by Sir J. Simeon and Sir Francis Crossley for, and Mr Mackenna (a Liberal), Mr Lowther, and Mr Adderley, against the bill.

Mr LAYARD said that he took part in the debate in order to prove his gratitude to the working classes whom he especially represented in Southwark, who had fought many hard battles with him; while whatever position he held he owed to that class alone. He urged that the opposition to the bill was carried on by those who, nominally reformers, yet practically declared themselves against its principle, and so against all Parliamentary Reform. He combated the objections which had been made to the bit-by-bit legislation on Reform, arguing that it would have been most inadvisable to have introduced the question of redistribution of seats before

dealing with that of the franchise; and pressed the point that Parliament and the Government were pledged to an amendment of the representation of the people. He controverted as fallacies that the working classes were already sufficiently represented; that if this bill passed that class would swamp every other; pressed the argument that those classes had a large stake in the country, understood it, and were consequently averse to disturbance either by foreign war or domestic turmoil; and insisted that the working classes ought not to be called corrupt by the very men who were instrumental in corrupting them.

Sir H. CAIRNS observed that the real issue involved was the manner in which this bill dealt with the perambulating franchise, and the mode in which the Government had dealt with the whole subject of Parliamentary Reform; and proceeded to contend against the principle of the predominance of one class, and that power put only by numbers in the Parliamentary government of the country; and argued that those who brought in this bill were responsible for any setting class against class, of which so much complaint had been made, while he insisted that all the mocking words and contemptuous epithets which it had been said had been applied by the Opposition to the working classes had been initiated on the other side. Having dissected the measure, and sought for the motives which had led to its introduction by the Government, he summed up by saying that, according to Lord Hartington, it was done to prevent their feeling uncomfortable; and by Mr Layard, in order to gratify persons holding opinions like his; so that indirectly that hon. gentleman was the author of the Reform Bill. He urged emphatically that the House ought not to be called on to affirm an abstract franchise, without a full knowledge of what was intended in regard to the redistribution of seats.

In the HOUSE OF LORDS, on TUESDAY, the Cattle, &c., Contagious Bill, and the Cattle Sheds in Boroughs (Scotland) Bill, were read a second time; the County Courts Bill was read a third time, and passed.

Lord STRATHFORD moved that a select committee be appointed to examine the electoral returns laid upon the table with a view to the changes they suggest as desirable or necessary in the rights of voting; and to inquire into the conditions upon which the occupation franchise may be lowered with advantage in counties or in boroughs of England and Wales.

Earl RUSSELL said that the electoral returns of 1860 were so imperfect and incorrect as to have justified an inquiry by a committee; but the proposition of the noble lord went to the length of making the return the basis of a measure for lowering the franchise, a matter on which their lordships were not, he thought, disposed to take the initiative.

The motion was negatived.

In the HOUSE OF COMMONS, on TUESDAY, in answer to Mr FAWCETT, Sir C. GREY said he could not at present state when the bill of the Government for the extension of the Factory Acts would be introduced.

In answer to Mr GREGORY, Mr COWPER said that he had received from the President of the Royal Academy a letter, stating that the Academy was about to make the alterations in the constitution of that body which had been recommended for its improvement. The proposed changes were approved of by the Government.

In answer to Mr BEAUMONT, Mr LAYARD said that there was no reason to believe that a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been entered into between Prussia and Italy.

In answer to Mr AYTOUN, Sir G. GREY said that it was intended to bring in a bill for granting a new charter to the Queen's University in Ireland.

In answer to Mr OTWAY, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that the Government did not think it convenient to state the course which they would take in regard to clauses of the Franchise Bill, and therefore he could not say what was their intention as to the disfranchisement of artisans in Government dockyards.

Sir F. KELLY moved that on any future remission of indirect taxation, the House would take into consideration the duty upon malt, with a view to its immediate reduction and ultimate repeal. The hon. gentleman argued that the repeal of the malt tax was the necessary corollary to the system of reduction and repeal of duties on articles of consumption and the necessities of life which had been adopted of late years, and which was inaugurated by the repeal of the corn laws.

Mr J. MORE, in seconding the motion, admitted the difficulty of dealing with the malt tax, having regard to the revenue, and suggested that any future propositions on the subject should declare for the imposition of a tax on brewing as a compensating process.

Mr NEATE moved as an amendment, that in the present state of the taxation of the country, it is the duty of Parliament to make provision for the systematic reduction of the national debt, and not to sanction any proposal for any repeal or change of taxes which is likely to be attended with a diminution of revenue.

Mr J. S. MILL seconded the amendment, and after expressing his belief in Mr Jevon's argument that our coal will become unworkable after the lifetime of about three more generations, said, are we going to bequeath our pecuniary obligations undiminished to our descendants, while we cannot bequeath our assets? Suppose the property of a private individual became deeply mortgaged, and that the bulk of it consisted of a mine, rich indeed, but certain to be exhausted in his lifetime, would he think it honourable to waste the whole proceeds of the mine in riotous living, and leave to his children the payment of the debt out of the rest of the estate? Then what would be vicious and dishonourable in a private individual is not less dishonourable in a nation. We ought to think of these things while we have still time. This country is at present richer and more prosperous than any country we ever knew or read of, and it can without any material inconvenience or privation set aside several millions a year for the discharge of this important duty to our descendants. I do not think we are much to blame as far as we have yet gone. It was perfectly right to get rid of all very bad taxes, and which produced a greater quantity of incidental mischief than advantage to the revenue from their imposition. Thanks to the progress of opinion and to the enlightened and far-sighted Minister who has administered our finances for some years back, this work has been nearly performed. There are

very few taxes remaining which are utterly unfit to exist. If there are any, they do not yield so large a revenue but that we may hope, without much difficulty, to get rid of them also. The bulk of our revenue is derived from a comparatively small number of imposts, though each yields a considerable sum, and none of which, I think, is now very seriously objectionable in principle, or greatly mischievous in practice, any further than is inevitably incident on the mere payment of taxes. I think it is perfectly legitimate to try experiments upon taxes, if there be any chance, by lowering the amount, to increase the revenue. It is also legitimate to vary the mode of imposing taxes by raising them at a later stage in the production of the article, especially if you get rid of a number of objections such as have been brought forward by the hon. and learned member opposite. All that is perfectly legitimate, or they might supply the place of these taxes by other imposts. But if we are to abolish any of these taxes, which yield a revenue of five or six millions, merely in order to have the satisfaction of expending the sum in some other way, it will be a practice, as it appears to me, which will be a criminal dereliction of our duty. If we are able, either by increasing our resources or by a retrenchment of our expenditure, to dispense with the malt tax, how much wiser and worthier it would be if they were to set apart this tax as a fund for the extinguishment of our debt. I beg very strongly indeed to press upon the House the duty of taking these things into serious consideration, in the name of that dutiful concern for posterity, which has been strong in every nation, which even did everything great, and which has never left the minds of any such nation until, as in the case of the Romans under the Empire, it was already falling into decrepitude, and ceasing to be a nation. There are many persons in the world, and there may possibly be some in this House, though I should be sorry to think so, who are not unwilling to ask themselves, in the words of the old text, "Why should we sacrifice anything for posterity? what has posterity done for us?" They think that posterity has done nothing for them. That is a great mistake. Whatever has been done for mankind by the idea of posterity, whatever has been done for mankind by philanthropic concern for posterity by a conscientious sense of duty to posterity, even by the less pure, but still noble ambition of being remembered and honoured by them; all this we owe to posterity, and all this it is our duty to the best of our limited ability to repay—all the great deeds of the founders of nations, and of those second founders of nations—their great reformers—all that has been done for us by the authors of those laws and institutions to which free countries are indebted for their freedom, and well governed countries for their good government; all the heroic lives which have been led, and deaths which have been died in defence of liberty and law against despotism and tyranny, from Marathon and Salamis down to Leipsic and Waterloo, all those traditions of wisdom and of virtue which are enshrined in the history and literature of the past—all the schools and universities by which the culture of former times has been brought down to us, and all that culture itself, all that we owe to the great masters of human thought and to the great masters of human emotion—all this is ours, however those who preceded us have taken thought for posterity. Not owe anything to posterity, sir! We owe to it Bacon, and Newton, and Locke; ay, and Shakespeare, and Milton, and Wordsworth. I have read of an eminent man, I am almost sure it was Dr Franklin, who, when he wished to relieve the necessities or assist the occasions of any deserving person by pecuniary help, used to say to them, "I only lend you this; if you are ever able, I expect you to repay it; but not to me: repay it to some other necessitous person, and do it under the same stipulation, that so the stream of good may flow on as long and as far as it can be kept flowing by human honesty." What Franklin did from beneficence, in order that the greatest possible amount of good might be extracted from a limited fund, our predecessors, to whom we owe so much, have done from the necessities of the case. The debt of gratitude due to them is such as to make it sometimes almost an oppressive thought that not one tithe of that debt can ever be directly repaid to those from whom we have received so much; but like the objects of Franklin's beneficence, we can indirectly repay it, by paying it to others—to those others whom they cared for, and for whom, and not merely for us, their labours and sacrifices were undergone. What are we, sir—we of this generation, or of any other generation, that we should expend upon our particular and exclusive uses what was meant for mankind? It is lent to us, sir, not given, and it is our duty to pass it on, not merely undiminished, but with interest, to those who are in the same relation to us as we are to those who preceded us. So shall we, too, deserve and receive our share of the same gratitude.

Mr C. S. READ put his demand for a repeal of the malt tax on the simple ground that the farmers ought to receive their share of the benefits of the reduction of taxation which had been the ruling principle of finance of late years. He argued that the tax materially impeded consumption; it prevented the admixture of malt with the food of stock, to whom it was a sound, healthy condiment, and restricted cultivation, causing farmers to grow crops which they would not otherwise adopt.

Sir E. BULLER argued that the tax was not to be estimated by its mere amount, but as malt in its inception was a source of profit, that profit extended through all the processes to which it was subjected.

Mr H. E. SUTTERS, in the interest of the farmers and the consumers, also supported the motion.

The debate was carried on by Mr Pollard-Urquhart, Mr Beach, Mr Buxton (who protested against the exaggerated statements of the profits of brewers which had been made), Mr De Grey, Mr McLaren, Mr Ducane, Mr Ayrton, Mr Hubbard, and Mr Schlater-Booth;

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER commenced his reply by referring to the amendment, the importance of which he admitted, but deprecated any decision upon it in this incidental manner, intimating that he should advert to the subject in his Financial Statement. In respect to the motion he repeated his old objection to pledging the House by anticipation to isolated remissions. This tax, he said, could not be dealt with at a less sacrifice to the revenue than 2,000,000*l.*, and, as by the financial arrangements of last year there would be no very large sum disposable this year,

the Resolution even if carried could have no present or proximate effect. After pointing out that malt had already been favoured in the shape of a remission of the beer duty forty years ago, he maintained that the burden of the duty must be considered in relation to other duties, and the nature of the commodity. It was almost in exact correspondence with the duties on tea and sugar, and that it was relatively much lighter than the duties on spirits he showed by stating that while 60,000,000 gallons of alcohol were annually consumed in beer, only 28,000,000 were consumed in spirits, and that while the beer paid 6,500,000*l.*, spirits paid 14,000,000*l.* He did not dispute the importance of beer as an article of diet, though he could not concede to it the "evangelising power" attributed to it by the abolitionists, who elevated it almost to the rank of a "missionary of civilization," and as to the proposition to change the form of the duty into a tax on beer, he pointed out that there were great practical difficulties in the way, and that no general concurrence in the proposal had been manifested. He warned Sir F. Kelly that, unless he provided a substitute, his motion struck at the root of indirect taxation, and, though not desirous to take up the position of obstinate and inconvertible opposition, he urged the House not to consent to a motion which could have no present effect.

Mr NEATE withdrew his amendment, and on a division the motion was rejected by 235 to 150 votes.

Various bills relating chiefly to Ireland were forwarded a stage.

In the HOUSE OF COMMONS, on WEDNESDAY, Mr D. GIFFITH moved the second reading of his Public Companies Bill, which enables the votes of shareholders to be taken by voting papers as well as by general proxies as at present.

Mr MILNER GIBSON accepted the bill—subject to certain amendments as a salutary improvement of the law—and it was then read a second time.

Mr HUDDLESTON moved the second reading of a bill for the prevention of frauds in the hop trade, which occur by the substitution of inferior for superior qualities of hops, and the well-known practice of "false packing." After explaining the present state of the law, and entering with some minuteness into the circumstances of the trade to show that it was impossible to examine hops in bulk like wheat, barley, and other produce, he stated that the principal provisions of the bill compelled the owners or growers of hops to mark the pockets with the weight and the date of growth, which had always been done by the Excise officers before the abolition of the duty.

Some slight opposition was offered by Mr Beresford Hope and Mr Alderman Lusk, and the bill was supported by Sir B. Bridges, Mr Locke, and Mr Knight. On the part of the Government, Mr Milner Gibson, though opposed to the compulsory marking of any merchandise, acquiesced in the bill, as intended to prevent frauds in regard to marks already sanctioned by law.

The bill was read a second time.

Sir C. O'LOGHLEN moved the second reading of the Bank-notes (Ireland) Bill, the objects of which are to make Bank of England notes a legal tender in Ireland, and to abolish the obligation on the Irish banks to convert their notes into gold at every place of issue.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in an interesting dissertation on the principles of banking and currency, while expressing a desire to legislate at a convenient season on the whole subject, opposed this bill, the first part of which would give Bank of England notes a compulsory status of par in Ireland when by the ordinary course of trade they would be at a discount, and the second part would infringe on the principle of convertibility.

The bill was withdrawn after some observations from Mr HANKEY.

The Prosecution Expenses Bill passed through committee with amendments.

The Art Bill passed through committee.

On the second reading of the Thames Navigation Bill, Mr HANLEY criticized the composition of the superintending body, expressing considerable doubt whether it would be competent to discharge the duties imposed on it.

Mr DENMAN called attention to the defective police of the river on such occasions as the University Boat Race.

After some observations from Mr Neate, Mr Ayrton, Sir W. Dilke, and Mr Locke, the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be referred to a select committee.

The Postmaster-General Bill was read a third time and passed.

In the HOUSE OF LORDS, the Parliamentary Oaths Bill was taken in committee.

The Marquis of BATH proposed to add to the oath the words, "on the true faith of a Christian," in order to retain the Christian character of the legislature.

The amendment was opposed by Earl RUSSELL, and also by Lord CHELMSFORD, and was negatived.

Lord CHELMSFORD then moved a proviso, of which he had given notice, to the 3rd clause, by which it was declared that the repealing of the acts relating to oaths did not involve the taking away any supremacy, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Crown.

Lord CAMOYS did not object to the amendment personally, but he feared that many Roman Catholics would object to it as making them parties to a declaration of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, and hoped it would not be pressed.

After some discussion,

Earl RUSSELL, acknowledging the unsatisfactory conduct of the Opposition, accepted the amendment. It was added to the bill, which passed through committee.

The Contagious Diseases Bill and the Cattle Sheds in Burghs (Scotland) Bill passed through committee and their other stages, the standing orders having been suspended.

A discussion, initiated by the Marquis of CLANRICHADE, on the subject of procedure in the Irish courts of law, and the question whether the Chief Justice of one of the courts was not incapacitated by age from the due performance of his duties; followed, after which Viscount LYFFORD brought on the subject of the competition for military breech-loading small arms, which was discussed.

The House then adjourned.

In the HOUSE OF COMMONS, the report of the election committee for Horsham was brought up, and stated that Mr R. H. Hurst, the sitting member, was duly returned.

Mr FERRAND drew attention to a petition from a village called Harden, in Yorkshire, in favour of the Franchise Bill, to which he stated numerous forged signatures had been attached, and asked for inquiry into the matter.

Mr C. FORSTER suggested that the inquiry should be by a special committee.

After some discussion, notice of a motion for a committee was given.

The adjourned debate on the Franchise Bill was resumed by

Mr GRAHAM, who stated his opinion that the principle of the bill was just and its scope moderate, eminently judicious in its mode of introduction to the House, and worthy of the acceptance of the great Liberal party. He argued that the opponents of the measure were either those impracticable men who would only accept things when they were done in their own way, or those who did not desire any reform at all. Reviewing the speech of Sir H. Cairns, he pointed out that that gentleman was at issue with Mr Disraeli in regard to the extension of the franchise, always presuming fitness in the enfranchisement, and argued in favour of the eligibility of the working classes for that privilege.

Lord ELCHO disputed Mr Graham's assertion that the bill was just in its principle, moderate in its scope, eminently judicious in its form, and worthy of the acceptance of the Liberal party, and proceeded to argue that in every respect it was exactly the opposite of all this; and expressed his objection to the hasty and fragmentary manner in which the measure had been brought in, and the wild sentimentalism with which it had been supported. He denied that he was opposed to all reform; for he supported the bill of Lord Derby, when so many of the Liberals had rejected it. What he wished was, that there should be inquiry, in order to form a basis for a measure which would be a settlement of the question. He maintained that this Parliament was not pledged to reform, for Sir G. Grey had distinctly said last year that the Government did not go to the country upon parliamentary reform; at the election Lord Palmerston said nothing on the subject; while 160 Liberal members only spoke of it, and 165 said nothing about it; and other 42, being followers of Lord Palmerston, were equally silent. He argued at length against the bill, dwelling chiefly on the circumstances that there was already a large per centage of the working class which possessed the franchise, and what was now proposed would inevitably give a preponderance of that class in the electoral system, and he was opposed to the preponderance of any class in that respect. The conclusion of his speech was mainly an earnest assertion of the right of private judgment and action under the influence of conscience on the part of those Liberal members who objected to the bill.

Sir W. HURR, so far from complaining of certain strictures on his conduct uttered by Lord Elcho, was glad that he had given him the opportunity of explaining that conduct in the face of the House. He denied that he had ever intended to take up a hostile position towards the Government; his only object was to obtain information as to their whole scheme of reform, he never intended to desert his principles on the subject of the extension, which he had always advocated; and as the information he sought had been obtained he was prepared to support a measure having that object.

Mr B. HOPK argued against the bill, and was followed by Mr T. HUGHES, who very heartily tendered his support to it.

Mr Doulton defended himself against any charge of illiberalism which might attach to those who declined to vote for the present bill. The provisions of the measure applied chiefly to certain northern districts, and were inapplicable to the metropolitan constituencies. He could understand the argument that there was not time to proceed this year with a bill for the redistribution of seats, but that was no reason why information about that bill should be refused. The Government had done nothing to inspire him, as a Liberal, with confidence in their administration. He had no guarantee that if the Franchise Bill passed, the Government would persevere with the Redistribution Bill, and he was of opinion that a mere extension of the franchise would render corruption more rife than it now was in constituencies. He held that a measure for the redistribution of seats was of more importance than one for the extension of the franchise. He should oppose the present bill.

Mr M. GIBSON retorted on Mr Doulton, who objected so strongly to fragmentary reform, that he had nevertheless voted for the bill of Mr Baines last year. He proceeded to say that, looking to the liberal views which all parties had evinced on the subject of the extension of the franchise, he should have expected that a moderate measure having that object, and repealing the rate-paying clauses, would meet with acceptance by the Conservatives, and be readily received by the whole Liberal party. In this he had been deceived; but he was still convinced that it was right to clear the way for complete reform by ascertaining whether the principle of the extension of the franchise would be accepted by the House, and the passing of a measure to that effect could be no obstacle to proceeding with other branches of the question. The matter now before the House was the sanctioning of the principle of the lowering of the franchise by acceding to the second reading of the bill, and that pledged no one to any particular amount at which the franchise should be fixed. He argued that having ascertained what the number of voters generally ought to be, it would then be more facile to re-arrange the districts to which they would belong; and contended that the true principle of enfranchisement was the enfranchisement of fit men; and not of classes. He specially urged that if the second reading of the bill was rejected, the country would believe that the House had refused to entertain the question of parliamentary reform.

Mr G. HARRY followed with general arguments against the expediency of the bill, and some special observations directed against the lowering of the franchise.

The debate was again adjourned. In the HOUSE OF LORDS, last night, the East India Military Funds Transfer Bill, passed through committee, and was ordered for third reading.

In the HOUSE OF COMMONS, yesterday, Mr ADAIR brought up the report of the Nottingham Election Committee. The committee were of opinion that Sir J. R. Clifton and Mr S. Morley were not duly elected to serve in Parliament, and that Sir J. R. Clifton, Mr S. Morley, and Mr Paget were

guilty, by their agents, of bribery; that the last election was a void election, and that corrupt practices had existed.

Viscount CRANBURN said that, immediately the result of the committee was known, three sheriffs' officers pounced upon Sir J. Clifton and hurried him to gaol. He was of opinion that a member did not cease to be a member of the House until the report of the committee was brought up. He thought a breach of the privileges of the House had been committed; and he therefore moved that the Sheriffs of Middlesex attend at the bar of the House at four o'clock on Monday to explain their conduct.

Mr EDWARDS seconded the motion. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, if such a circumstance had taken place a gross breach of the privileges of Parliament had taken place, but it would be well that the hon. member should satisfy himself of the whole of the facts.

The motion for the attendance of the Sheriffs at the bar was then postponed.

After various questions had been put and answered, the Reform debate went on. The speakers were Mr Lyeson-Gower, Mr Gregory, Mr Young, Sir S. Northcote, Mr Coleridge, and Mr Horaman. Mr Bright moved the adjournment.

### News of the Week.

The decision, yesterday, of the Nottingham Election Committee unseats the two members, Sir J. R. Clifton and Mr S. Morley.

The elections at Cambridge and Reigate have been declared void.

Mr Adolphus Young, finding that bribery had been carried on in his name at Helston, has declined to contest the petition, and the Helston election is, therefore, at once declared void.

The unseating of Mr Forayth leaves Cambridge open to a new election contest, in which Colonel Torrens is the Liberal and Mr Gorst the Conservative candidate.

Up to yesterday week there had been presented to Parliament, since the recess, 610 petitions in favour of the Government Reform Bill, with a total number of signatures amounting to 440,941. There have been sixteen petitions, with 2,895 signatures, against the bill; seven against clause 16; five for alteration; and one, with 1,545 signatures, for Lord Grosvenor's amendment.

Meetings have been held in different parts of Flintshire for protest against the desertion of the Liberal cause by Lord Grosvenor.

On Thursday it was moved at Guildhall, in a Court of Common Council, that the Court petition Parliament in favour of the Franchise Bill, and the motion was carried by 69 votes against 42.

A fourth attempt to launch the *Northumberland* was made on Tuesday with success, and without any accident to life or limb.

The Working Classes Industrial Exhibition at Guildhall closed on Tuesday. Mr Peabody distributed the prizes.

On Tuesday an Irish labourer in Feathers court, Drury lane, killed his wife and committed suicide.

Mr H. E. N. King, aged seventeen, a son of Viscount Lorton, of Leitrim, has been committed by the magistrates of Tadeaster on the charge of stealing articles of jewellery from the house of Captain Oliver, of Bolton Percy, when visiting there in company with his tutor and a fellow pupil. Two of the stolen articles were sold at York on the day following York steeplechases.

Lord Lorton has written to the *Times*: "I shall feel obliged by your allowing me to state that the youth to whom reference is thus made is not my son. I deposed on oath to his not being so in the year 1850, in proceedings which I instituted in the Divorce Court, and I have never recognized his claim upon me in any way."

On Monday a shot was fired at the Emperor of Russia, but he was not hit. The man who fired was at once arrested. A peasant who by diverting the aim saved the Emperor's life has been ennobled.

A crowded meeting was held at Berlin last Sunday, when the following resolutions were carried unanimously: "1. A war between Prussia and Austria would be a national misfortune. 2. A liberal Prussian ministry would alone command the general confidence required for Federal reform. 3. The inhabitants of Slesvig-Holstein have an absolute right to dispose of their own future, such a popular right forming the only moral and legal basis of any constitutional government."

The Italian army had on the 31st of last January under arms—officers, 14,004; rank and file, 190,325; total under arms, 204,329 men. Officers disposable, 1,754; rank and file on furlough, 148,660; total at call, 150,414. The two totals together, 354,743. The old Sardinian army in 1859 employed about 240,000 men. In the course of May 30,000 more men will be ready to be incorporated in the regiments; and a further 150,000 available in from two to three months from the time of calling them out. Of the officers of the present Italian army, eight-sixteenths are Piedmontese; two-sixteenths, Lombards; two-sixteenths, Neapolitans; one-sixteenth, Tuscans; one-sixteenth, Romans and Venetians; and

two-sixteenths from the other provinces—Parma, Modena Umbria, and Emilia.

The *Movimento* of Genoa says: "We learn that the Minister of Marine has just issued orders which indicate extraordinary activity. Admiral Persano has been appointed commander of the united squadrons of evolution, and Vice-Admiral Albini has been appointed second in command. The armaments of the navy are pushed on with great activity. Amongst other orders issued is one for hastening the naval levy." The *Italia* of Naples says that the naval establishment there has received orders to prepare for the armament of the disposable vessels of war. The men in the arsenal are actively employed in the manufacture of war material. In addition to the *Garibaldi* and the *Castelfidardo*, the *Count Cavour* and other vessels will be immediately put in commission.

Roumania chooses Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, who will perhaps decline the office, for its Hospodar. There was a slight disturbance and brush with the troops of Jassy, in which fourteen are said to have been killed and sixteen wounded. The rioters have issued a proclamation openly pronouncing for the separation of the Principalities, and declaring the election of a foreign Prince to be an impossibility. The *Nord* of Wednesday publishes the following details of the late disturbances at Jassy: "The day before yesterday, after the celebration of mass, an immense crowd of people followed the Metropolitan to his palace, in order to declare their opposition to the union of the Principalities, and to demand the separation of Moldavia and Wallachia. A body of cavalry immediately charged the defenceless crowd with drawn sabres, but did not succeed in dispersing them. The Metropolitan was severely wounded. The Provisional Government then despatched a body of infantry to the palace, where they fired upon the unarmed populace. After several very murderous sabre charges, the crowd fled. The number of killed and wounded is at present unknown. The foreign consuls assembled together during the affray at the residence of the Prussian consul, where they were waited upon by a messenger from the Provisional Government, who announced that tranquillity was restored. He added that the first shots were fired by the populace, and that Prince Constantine Mourouzi was the instigator of the movement, but these allegations are without foundation. The Provisional Government seeks to give a Russian colour to the movement. All persons suspected of attachment to Russia are immediately arrested. The Kaimacams have promised to hold an inquiry into the circumstances attending the outbreak." It is generally understood that the movement really is of Russian origin.

Disappointment at having two pictures refused by the jury of the Paris Salon has led an artist named Jules Holtzapffel to commit suicide. He wrote to his brother: "The members of the jury do not know me; I have neither friends nor enemies amongst them. So I've no talent, and when a man hasn't talent at forty it is time to die." The brother hurried to his lodgings, and found that Jules had just blown out his brains.

Parisians are hissing the *Africaine* at their Grand Opera, because they get too much of it.

THE WORKING MEN'S MEMORIAL OF GRATITUDE TO SIR ROBERT PEEL.—The four gifts of 15*l.* each, at the disposal of the trustee (University College, London), out of this year's dividends of the funds, have been adjudged to the Belfast People's Literary Institution, the Newcastle-on-Tyne Mechanics' Institution, the Fazeley Club Library and Reading Room, and the Working Men's College, Great Ormond street, London. The applications were seventy-five.

### Obituary.

DR THOMAS HODGKIN, who died lately, was born on the 17th August, 1798, at Pentonville. His parents were members of the Society of Friends, of which body he himself remained through life a member, free from all trace of sectarian narrowness. After completing his education, wholly under private tuition, he studied chemistry, both practically and theoretically, under William Allen, F.R.S. He afterwards studied anatomy, surgery, and medicine, firstly at Guy's Hospital, secondly at the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards at the medical schools of Paris, Rome, and Vienna. He graduated at Edinburgh in 1823, and having completed his foreign medical studies, commenced practice in London in or about 1824. Whilst his private practice was forming he was appointed official curator of the Pathological Museum, and demonstrator of morbid anatomy at Guy's, and delivered a course of lectures on "Morbid Anatomy," which he afterwards published. He was the chief assistant of Dr Bright in those researches which resulted in the discovery of the disease known as *Bright's Kidney*. He took a very active part in the endeavours used to obtain the throwing open of the Faculty of Medicine in London to the graduates of other universities than those of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin; making the path to professional eminence in the metropolis as accessible to the Dissenter as to the Churchman. Whilst thus engaged the College of Physicians offered him a fellowship, although he possessed only an Edinburgh degree. He declined this honour, lest its acceptance should be regarded as a betrayal of his coadjutors in the movement, who would still have remained outside.

On the establishment of the University of London in 1826, his was amongst the first names included in the original charter as members of the Senate, a nomination made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and he continued in this post till death. He joined with Sir T. F. Buxton in forming the Aborigines Protection Society in 1838. And when in the first instance the Niger expedition withdrew a considerable portion of Sir T. F. Buxton's special attention from the general question of the protection of the aborigines, and when subsequently his declining strength, and eventually his death, deprived them altogether of the benefit of his labours, Dr Hodgkin became, and continued thenceforward until his death, the chief support of this society.

He took two journeys to the Holy Land with Sir Moses Montefiore, with the view of assisting in various schemes for the benefit of the Jewish people. He also repeatedly accompanied Sir Moses in other journeys, including one to Morocco in 1864, for the purpose of an interview with the Emperor, which procured the rescue of several Jewish prisoners, and established liberty of conscience both for Jews and indirectly for Gentiles also in that Mohammedan Empire. It was on the second of the journeys to the Holy Land that Dr Hodgkin's death took place.

Dr Hodgkin married, in 1850, Sarah Frances, widow of John Scaife, Esq., who survives him. He has left no issue.

COMMERCE.

HOME.

DECLINE OF THE CATTLE PLAGUE.—In the week ending November 18, 1865, the whole number of animals attacked with rinderpest in England, Wales, and Scotland was returned at 3,345; in the week ending November 25, at 6,551; in the week ending December 2, at 5,731; in the week ending December 9, at 7,845; in the week ending December 16, at 8,187; in the week ending December 23, at 8,207; and in the week ending December 30, at 9,956. In the current year the attacks have presented the annexed weekly results:

Table with columns: Week ending, Current cases, Back cases, Total. Rows from Jan. 6, 1866 to April 7, 1866.

In consequence of the great proportion of cattle now slaughtered, of whose number there is no return, the recovery rate has somewhat declined. It stood, April 7, at 13-799 per cent., as compared with 13-919 per cent. March 31, 14-011 per cent. March 24, and 14-092 per cent. March 17. On the other hand, the recovery rate in the week ending March 10 was only 14-041 per cent.; in the week ending March 3, 13-956 per cent.; in the week ending February 24, 13-377 per cent.; in the week ending February 17, 12-677 per cent.; in the week ending February 10, 12-364 per cent.; and in the week ending February 3, 12-146 per cent.

BARNED'S BANKING COMPANY, Liverpool, had on Thursday a notice posted on the doors announcing that "The directors, in consequence of the withdrawal of facilities by their London agents, were compelled temporarily to suspend payment." The bank was founded in 1809, and continued as a private bank, under the title of "Messrs I. Barned and Co.," to do a large and profitable business until July, 1865, when it was organized on the basis of a joint-stock company, under the Limited Liability Act. The purchase money for the business was fixed at 160,000l., payable by instalments spread over two years. The directors of the company are Messrs Charles Mozley (chairman), J. A. Bencke, George Collie, S. Price Edwards, John Enthoven, Francis Martin, F. B. Mozley, Lewin B. Mozley, and J. Robinson. The capital fixed in the prospectus was 2,000,000l., in 40,000 shares of 50l. each, upon which 10l. has already been called up, leaving the proprietors responsible for 40l. per share. On the Stock Exchange, in consequence of this failure, the shares are now quoted 10l. discount, with 10l. paid, and are, in fact, unsaleable. Mercantile and Exchange (another Liverpool bank) also fell 3l., and are likewise quoted 10l. discount, with 10l. paid. Many other bank shares were depressed. Alliance declined 2l. 5s.; Agra, 2l.; and Consolidated, 7s. 6d. There was a demand, however, for Australasia, Chartered of India, Australia, and China, Imperial Ottoman, Oriental Corporation, and Union of London, at an advance. Alliance closed at 2 1/2 to 2 1/2 dis.; Anglo-Austrian, at 1/2 dis. to par; and Imperial Ottoman, at 1 1/2 to 1 1/2 prem.

MESSRS KIRKPATRICK AND BALGUY, sugar refiners, have failed. Their liabilities amount to about 150,000l., and the liquidation will be very unfavourable, the assets reaching only about 30,000l., or 4s. in the pound.

A dividend (which it is to be presumed may be taken as a final one) of 1-90th of 1d. has just been declared in the Bristol District Court of Bankruptcy in the estate of S. Cox, manufacturer of chymicals, of Netham, near Bristol. The bankruptcy took place under the Consolidation Act of 1849, and there had been three previous dividends of 8d., 1d., and 1-8th of 1d. The sum now divided was 2l. 1s. between creditors whose debts amounted to about 45,000l.

THE LONDON AND SOUTH AFRICAN BANK are inviting tenders, receivable till twelve o'clock on Monday, the 7th of May, for Durban Corporation [Natal] Eight per Cent. Bonds to the amount of 50,000l. This loan has been duly authorized by law, and the funds are to be applied to roads, drainage, &c. It is mentioned "that the security offered is 1,875 acres of the town lands unencumbered, and the general revenue of the Durban Corporation, upon which the only charge that now exists is 5,000l." The debentures will be issued in sums of 500l., 300l. and 100l. each, and the interest will be payable half-yearly at the London and South African Bank in London. Repayment is to take place in forty years from the 1st prox.

THE ORIENTAL BANK CORPORATION held its annual general meeting on Thursday, at the offices in Threadneedle street; Harry George Gordon, Esq., in the chair. The report of the directors, which had been published some days since, was taken as read. The Chairman said he had now, by the authority of the court of directors and in accordance with the report, to declare a dividend of 1l. 5s. per share for the half-year, making, with the same dividend paid to 30th June last, 10 per cent. per annum, free of income tax. He much regretted that the dividend now declared fell so short of those which he had had to announce on previous occasions. It must be recollected, however, that they had gone through an unparalleled crisis, and they had of course suffered losses in common with other houses connected with the East. Losses had been incurred partly from failures in local banking-houses, and partly from commercial operations in some quarters having proved disastrous. Another cause for the present state of affairs arose from the competition with which they had to combat. Owing to this complication of causes the board were compelled to keep back large reserves at a time when there was little or no possibility of employing them at a remunerating price. The bank, however, was never in a sounder position than it was at present. The report was adopted.

THE CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA, AUSTRALIA, AND CHINA met on Wednesday, when an unfavourable report was adopted. Mr Mitchell, M.P., was in the chair, and, in speaking to the motion for the adoption of the report, stated that though the company had suffered great losses their capital remained untouched. These losses had been met by the reserve fund, but as their credit was unimpaired and they were now doing a large and profitable business, there was reason to hope that their next report would be more satisfactory. The sum of 83,000l. had been transferred to meet the bad and doubtful debts, which sum the directors believed to be ample.

SMYRNA AND CASSABA RAILWAY.—The general meeting of the shareholders of this railway was held on Wednesday, at the offices, No. 3 Adelaide place. The report of the directors congratulated the shareholders on the opening of the entire railway. The line, according to the report of the engineer, was properly and substantially constructed, and the limited amount of rolling stock which it was considered prudent only in the first instance to provide, had been placed on the line in good condition. The directors felt it due to the contractor, Mr Edward Price, to record their high appreciation of the energy and faithfulness with which he had carried out his contract with the company. The passenger traffic had already reached the amount which it was estimated it would realize at this season of the year, and it was still rapidly increasing. As regarded the goods traffic, the ex-

ports and imports of Smyrna, which were well known, led to the conviction that, when the existing carrying trade was diverted, as it must shortly be, from the road to the rail, and the trade had acquired the development which would certainly follow from the facilities of the railway, the receipts from the goods traffic would also be fully equal to the revenue which was expected from that source. It was proposed to authorize the directors to take up further money on loan to the extent of 100,000l., making, with the former powers, a total borrowing authority of 230,000l.; and, to facilitate their exercise of such further power, to enable the directors to create and issue debentures for the full amount of 230,000l.—180,000l. of which shall be applied in redemption of the existing bonds, and the other 100,000l. for the purpose of purchasing additional rolling stock, and paying the contractor a portion of the balance due to him in cash in lieu of shares. By this course all the borrowed capital would be placed upon the same footing, and the additional 100,000l. would be raised upon far better terms than if it were placed as a second mortgage. It was intended that the debentures should be of the nominal amount of 100l., should bear interest at the rate of eight per centum per annum payable half-yearly, be issued at the price of 87 1/2 10s., and be redeemed in eleven years from the 1st July, 1867, at par, by annual drawings. The directors, however, deemed it prudent that provision should be made for the redemption of the debentures at any time at par, at the option of the company, as they felt assured that the large resources of the undertaking would shortly be so far developed that the company would be in a position to borrow the full amount upon far better terms. On the acknowledgment by the Government of the completion of the line, the sum of 152,000l. would become payable to Mr Price under his contract. The chairman briefly moved the adoption of the report. He said that when such satisfactory results had been attained by the company in the winter season they might reasonably expect large returns during the summer. The report was adopted, as also a resolution authorizing the directors to take money on loan, as stated in the report.

THE FAIRBAIN ENGINEERING COMPANY (Limited) held its second annual meeting on Wednesday. The net profits of the year amount to 12,216l. 1s. 11d. The balance unappropriated on the 31st March, 1865, was 3,360l. 0s. 6d., making a total of 15,576l. 2s. 5d. available for distribution. A dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, free of income-tax, was declared.

THE LONDON AND LANGSHIRE FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES presented to the shareholders at the third annual meeting, held on Tuesday, reports which show the progress of the companies' operations to have been as follows: In the fire department, during the years 1864-5, the premiums (including 19,913l. for re-assurances) have reached 231,013l., showing an increase in two years of 140,717l., or over 150 per cent. During 1865 the premiums have been (including 12,160l. paid for re-assurances) 122,416l. Six per cent. interest is paid to the proprietors. The losses amount to 74,418l. In four years the average losses of the company (including the above amount) have been, as near as possible, 57 per cent. In the life department the number of proposals received in the year was 632, assuring 324,494l. Of these 502 policies were issued for 261,424l., giving a new premium income of 7,883l. The total income amounted to 23,107l. To the accumulated fund the sum of 10,000l. has been added for the year 1865, being 60 per cent. of the net premium income. Five per cent. interest is paid to the proprietors.

FOREIGN.

THE HONG KONG AND SHANGHAI BANKING COMPANY (Limited), had its first report read at the general meeting of shareholders at Hong Kong on the 12th Feb. The capital of this company is at present 5,000,000 dol., in 40,000 shares of 250 dol. each, of which one-half is paid up. It appears that the company's offices at Hong Kong and Shanghai were opened for the transaction of business in the month of April last, but were not in fair working order until the middle of May. From the profits shown the directors recommended payment of a dividend at the rate of 6.66 dol. per share, which is equivalent to 8 per cent. per annum for the period of working. The directors further proposed to place 33,300 dol. to the reserve fund, and carry forward 12,281 dol. to the credit of the present year's accounts, in addition to 31,696.96 dol., being rebate on bills not due. The report, which was unanimously adopted, also stated as follows: The appointment of a special agent in London was found necessary, and for this post the directors engaged Mr W. H. Vacher, on whose experience and ability they can fully rely. The directors, after having given very careful consideration to the subject, have determined upon recommending an increase of the capital of the bank, and have therefore caused the requisite notice to be given. The directors have full confidence in recommending this step, as the growing business of the bank undoubtedly calls for such a measure. The application of the directors for a charter, or act of incorporation, has been favourably received by the Lords of the Treasury and her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in a despatch from the latter, addressed to his Excellency the Governor, it is stated that Government is prepared to accede to the bank's petition, and grant incorporation on the basis of the charter of the Asiatic Banking Corporation. In conclusion, the directors have the satisfaction of reporting that up to the present time the bank has suffered no losses whatever, although the period at which the company commenced operations was one of unprecedented embarrassment in the Eastern trade.

WEEKLY TEMPERATURE: S. a.m. M. 50°, Tu. 51°, W. 51°, Th. 50°, F. 47°.

WEEKLY RETURN OF BANKRUPTS: Tuesday, 74; Friday, 71.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, MONDAY.—The arrivals of live cattle and sheep, &c., into the port of London from the Continent during the past week have been small. The Custom-house official return gives an entry of 936 oxen and cows, 53 calves, 4,392 sheep, 169 pigs, and eleven horses, together making a total of 5,551 head, against 6,661 head at the same period last year.

Table with columns: LAST WEEK, THIS WEEK. Sub-columns: Prices per Stone, At Market. Rows: Beef, Mutton, Lamb, Veal, Pork.

Table with columns: CORN MARKET, MONDAY. Sub-columns: Per Quarter, Last Week, This Week. Rows: Wheat, English, Foreign; Barley, English, Foreign; Oats, English, Scotch, Irish, Foreign; Beans, English, Foreign; Peas, English, Foreign; Tares; Flour, English, Foreign.

HAY MARKET.—Per load of 36 trusses: Hay, £4 4s. to £5 10s. Clover, £5 6s. to £6 18s. Straw, £1 18s. to £2 6s.

CORN MARKET, FRIDAY.—IMPORTATIONS into London from the 16th to the 19th of April, 1866, both inclusive.

Table with columns: Wheat, Barley, Oats, Malt, Flour. Rows: English and Scotch, Irish, Foreign.

RAILWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES.

From the List of Messrs Holderness, Fowler, and Co., Stock and Share Brokers, of Change Alley, Cornhill.

Large table with columns: SHARES OF, RAILWAYS, PAID, CLOSING PRICES, BUSINESS DONE. Rows include various railway and public company shares like Caledonian, Great Northern, Great Eastern, etc.

THE FUNDS.—CONSOLS opened on Monday at 86 1/2, and closed at 87 for money.

Table with columns: BRITISH, PRICE, FOREIGN (continued), PRICE. Rows: Consols, De. April Account, 5 per Cent. Reduced, Bank Stock, India Stock, Do. 5 per Cent. Loan, Eschequer Bills, Egyptian 7 per cent., Greek 5 per cent., Italian 5 per cent., Mexican 5 per cent., Peruvian, Russian 5 per cent., Ditto 4 1/2 per cent., Sardinian 5 per cent., Spanish 5 per cent., Ditto Passive, Do. 5 per cent. New Def., Ditto Certificates, Turkish 5 per cent., Ditto ditto 1855, Ditto ditto 1856, Ditto 5 per cent. 1865.

BANK OF ENGLAND.—An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Wednesday, the 15th day of April, 1866.

Table with columns: GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT, BANKING DEPARTMENT. Rows: Government Debt, Other Securities, Gold Coin and Bullion, Proprietors' Capital, Public Deposits, Eschequer Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, Other Deposits, Seven Days and other Bills.

CURRENT EVENTS

As Telegraphed.

AUSTRIA: FOREIGN.

April 17.—The Prussian reply to the Austrian Note of the 7th inst. was delivered to-day by Baron von Werther to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Note, which displays no acerbity of tone, declines to accede to the Austrian demand that Prussia should desist from military preparations. It points out that Austria having been the first to arm should also be the first to restore her military establishment to a peace footing.

The Vienna papers assert that Queen Victoria has addressed a letter to Count Mensdorff, in which her Majesty expresses her high approval of the attitude maintained by the Austrian Government in its dispute with Prussia.

A telegram received at Vienna from Silesia states that the Prussian military preparations in that province continue.

18.—The Austrian reply to the despatch of Earl Russell, urging the maintenance of peace, says: "Austria is formally bound to uphold the rights of the inhabitants of the Duchies, which she could not without shame surrender to the domination of Prussia. The Duchies should be united under an independent Sovereign, and the will of the population respected. The decision of the majority of the Federal Diet must be recognized as binding. The Austrian and Prussian armies ought to withdraw from the Duchies and leave the inhabitants under the protection of the Federal Diet. Three months after the withdrawal of the Austrian and Prussian troops the people would choose their own form of government. Austria accepts beforehand any decision which the people may make, even should it be in favour of annexation to Prussia."

The programme between Saxony and Bavaria in reference to the German question has been agreed upon and approved by the Viennese Cabinet.

PRUSSIA:

April 18.—The text of the Prussian reply to the Austrian despatch of the 7th inst. is published to-day.

It dwells especially on the admitted movements of Austrian troops on the Prussian frontier, by which Prussia was led to take defensive measures, and says that if Count Mensdorff, after the Emperor had passed his word that no aggression was intended by Austria, still continues military preparations, it cannot be expected that Prussia, an equally clear denial of hostile intentions having been given by the King, should relinquish those defensive measures which were called forth by the attitude of Austria.

GERMANY:

April 18.—The Federal Diet has adjourned its sittings until Saturday next. It is supposed that a special committee will be appointed in order to consider the Prussian proposals.

19.—The notice brought forward by Prussia in the Federal Diet for convoking a German parliament will be referred on Saturday next to a special committee of nine.

The *Independence Bells* of this evening publishes a telegram from Berlin, which says it is considered likely that Austria will make concessions to Prussia on the question of disarmament.

AMERICA:

April 7.—The Senate has passed the Civil Rights Bill over the President's Veto by a vote of 33 to 15. It is believed that the House of Representatives will also pass the Bill over the Veto.

An animated and excited debate occurred previous to the passing of the bill. Mr Sanlibury declared that its enforcement would lead to war, bloodshed, and disunion.

A mass meeting has been held at Washington emphatically endorsing President Johnson's policy.

Senator Lane has introduced resolutions in the Senate for the admission of Southern members upon certain conditions. He spoke in favour of the President's policy, and declared that the Republican party was crumbling to pieces. Every day's postponement of the admission of Southern members insured the destruction of the Republican party.

President Johnson has sent a Message to Congress, recommending the modification of the Test Oaths of 1862, and also an appropriation for the owners of the British ship *Magiclanes*, which was captured as a blockade runner.

The committee on Foreign Affairs have instructed the chairman to report the resolution to send a fleet to the fishing grounds. Mr Seward is said to approve the resolution, which is regarded as a precautionary measure.

The New Jersey Legislature has adjourned without appointing a Senator.

President Johnson has released Captain Semmes under his original parole.

General Burnside has been elected Governor of the State of Rhode Island.

FRANCE:

April 17.—The election of a deputy to the Corps Législatif for the department of the Bas-Rhin has resulted in the return of M. de Bussières, the Government candidate, by 19,600 votes. M. Laboulaye, the Opposition candidate, obtained 9,900 votes.

18.—An Imperial decree has been issued proroguing the Session of the Corps Législatif until the 21st of June.

MEXICO:

April 7.—Advice received at New York from Mexico, via San Francisco, to the 10th ult., report several Imperial successes. General Almonte had accepted the mission to France.

Official Republican advices from El Paso to the 9th of March state that the Republicans had set out to occupy Chihuahua, where Juarez would shortly re-establish his Government.

SPAIN:

April 19.—An address, signed by upwards of a thousand of the principal inhabitants of Barcelona, has been forwarded to the Spanish Minister of Finance, congratulating him on the formation of the New National Bank.

20.—The *Epos* of to-day says the draft of a bill for the formation of a Spanish Credit Foncier has been submitted to the Ministry.

PORTUGAL:

April 20.—Count de Torres Novas, the Minister of War, is dead. The Chamber of Deputies has approved the contract for constructing a telegraph to America.

The Municipal Chamber of Beraoa has been burnt down.

ROME:

April 19.—The Pope visited the Queen of Saxony to-day.

HUNGARY:

April 17.—In to-day's sitting of the Upper House of the Diet, the Prince Primatz and Herr von Vay opposed the adoption of the Address of the Lower House, and expressed their conviction that it was the intention of the Emperor to bring about the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution.

18.—In to-day's sitting the Upper House of the Hungarian Diet adopted, by 106 against 102 votes, the address which had been passed by the Lower House.

M. Deak is unwell, and the labours of the Committees have been consequently suspended.

DENMARK:

April 17.—The International Commission for the settlement of the financial questions pending between Denmark and the great German Powers relative to the Duchies have concluded an arrangement, which was signed to-day.

The Secretary of the Danish Legation in Paris arrived at Copenhagen to-day.

18.—The *Dagblad* of to-day alleges that the Government has received communications which will necessitate the partial abandonment of its passive attitude in the German dispute, and cause it to adopt resolutions of an important character.

The *Dagblad* adds that Denmark may possibly obtain compensation for the violence to which she has been subjected.

TURKEY:

April 18.—A Syndicate, empowered to watch over the appropriation of the funds destined for the payment of the interest and sinking fund of the General Debt and of the foreign loans, has been instituted, and is composed of three Ottoman and six European bankers. This institution will in no way affect the foreign loans. Care is to be taken to maintain unimpaired the stipulations of the contracts for each of these loans, and the revenues specially assigned to each of them will be remitted to the Imperial Ottoman Bank to enable it to meet its half-yearly dividends.

The inquiry into the Budget is being actively pursued. The will of the Government is stated to be that this inquiry should be carried on with the greatest sincerity and be based on the most certain data. The result, whatever it may be, is to be published.

GREECE:

April 17.—The municipal elections have terminated throughout the kingdom.

Order was almost everywhere maintained.

The King leaves Athens to-day for a tour in the Peloponnesus.

ROMANIA:

April 17.—Jassy has now resumed its accustomed appearance, and the Metropolitan has returned to his religious duties. He was placed at their head by the insurgents, in which position he received a slight scratch.

The tocsin of the cathedral was sounded during the whole time of the disturbances. No inhabitant of the town took part in the movement.

The persons arrested are all Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Livonians, and servants.

Prince Mourousi is said to have declared that 60,000 Russians were to have passed the frontiers.

18.—It is considered extremely doubtful whether Prince Carl von Hohenzollern will accept the Hospodarship of Roumania.

RUSSIA:

April 17.—In consequence of the attempt made yesterday upon the life of the Emperor Alexander at St Petersburg, Count Berg, the Governor of Poland, left Warsaw this morning for the capital.

The peasant Osep Ivanhof, who saved the Emperor's life in the recent attempt at assassination, has been ennobled.

The would-be assassin is a Russian.

There were great rejoicings yesterday in the streets and in the theatres.

The Emperor appeared at the balcony of his palace and in the streets, and visited the Smolensk Convent.

INDIA:

March 28.—The Indian Budget was brought in and passed on the 24th inst.

No fresh taxes are imposed. The duty on saltpetre is reduced to 3 per cent. *ad valorem*. The deficit for next year is estimated at 72,000*l*. The first instalment of the Bhootan subsidy has been paid.

An insurrection which broke out in the native state of Dhawalpoor has been put down, and order restored.

Cabul has been taken by Mahomed Anzion Khan.

Her Majesty's ships *Octavia* and *Highflyer* have returned from the Persian Gulf with the Resident, in order to confer with the Government. The smallpox has broken out among the crew of the *Octavia*, and Lieutenant Gilby has fallen a victim to the malady.

The Sultan of Muscat has sent an Envoy to the Bombay Government asking for recognition, which has been refused.

The cattle disease is spreading in Burmah. It is said to be of the same character as in England.

COLONIAL.

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LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

Saturday Evening.

AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

The *Times* of this morning says: We are told that at a Council held yesterday at Schönbrunn the Emperor and Count Mensdorff, against it is added, the advice of some other Ministers, resolved to withdraw Count Karolyi, the Austrian Ambassador, from Berlin, and this decision having been made known to M. de Werther, the Prussian Ambassador at Vienna, it was expected that he would take his departure immediately. The immediate cause of this rupture is said to be that Count Mensdorff, after receiving the Prussian answer of the 15th, telegraphed a repetition of the Austrian demand of the 7th, and received a fresh refusal on Thursday. A Council was then held, and the opinion of the Emperor and his Minister being in favour of the bolder course, it was adopted.

PARIS, April 21.—A telegram received here from Vienna confirms the news that Austria, in replying to the Prussian Note of the 15th inst., has submitted propositions for mutual disarmament.

The propositions are as follows:

That Austria and Prussia shall each restore their military establishments to the *status quo* which existed prior to the late defensive measures.

That the 25th of April be the date fixed for mutual disarmament.

Austria consents to disarm on that date, but is even willing that Prussia should disarm only on the 26th April.

The Austrian proposition is stated to have been communicated confidentially to Paris and London, where it has been cordially approved.

AMERICA.

NEW YORK, April 10.—The House of Representatives has passed the Civil Rights Bill over the President's Veto by 123 to 41 votes. The bill is now law. The House has also instructed the Judiciary Com-

mittee to inquire if there is probable cause to believe that Mr Davis and others were implicated in the assassination of President Lincoln, or are guilty of treason, and, if so, what measures are necessary to bring them to a speedy trial.

The California Legislature have passed a resolution calling upon the Government to interfere in order to prevent the establishment of the Mexican monarchy.

The steamer *England*, from Liverpool, with 1,300 persons on board, has put into Halifax for medical assistance, having 160 cases of cholera and 60 deaths. She remains at Halifax, strictly quarantined. The captain believes some German passengers brought the epidemic aboard.

April 12.—The Senate has passed the Loan Bill in the same form as it was passed by the House of Representatives.

The House has adopted a resolution from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, asking the President what steps he had taken and what Congressional legislation was necessary to protect the American fisheries.

Mr Raymond explained the views of the Committee, and said that both the American and Canadian Governments would probably agree that by the abrogation of the treaty of 1854 both parties were thrown back upon the Convention of 1818, whereby Americans were permitted to fish within three miles of the coast. He had no idea that the American Government would ever consent to drawing a line from headland to headland. It was important to have a naval force to protect American interests and to prevent a conflict, pending negotiations on the subject, if the Government saw fit to invite negotiations.

It is reported that a general amnesty proclamation will shortly be issued.

The District Judge of Virginia has decided that the President's peace proclamation did not restore the *Habes Corpus*. The War Department has instructed the Freedmen's Bureau to inform the people of the South that the President's proclamation did not relieve them from government by military law.

The Fenian Convention is in Session at Eastport, Maine. The town is crowded with Fenians, and there are several Fenian vessels in the harbour armed with howitzers and 20-pounders. A sailing vessel escaped to sea, notwithstanding the presence of the United States' Marshal in Eastport. Arms and ammunition are arriving at different points along the New Brunswick frontier.

Several British gunboats are off Eastport and Campo Bello, keeping steam up and port-holes open. This menacing attitude is said to have caused a hostile feeling among American sympathizers with the Fenian cause, numbers of whom, together with some British deserters, are joining the Fenians.

A suspicious looking steamer, showing American colours, has proceeded up Eastport River towards St Andrew's.

Communication between St John's and the Western towns on the British side is reported to have been cut off by the Fenians. The garrison of Campo Bello has been reinforced, and earthworks have been thrown up.

The Canadian authorities believe that the movement on New Brunswick is a feint to cover an attack upon Canada, in conjunction with gunboats from Chicago.

At Toronto Fenian arrests and the search for arms continue. The Toronto Head Centre and others had been preliminarily examined before the magistrates.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

ST JOHN'S, April 12.—The Government has resigned on account of the action of Parliament favouring Confederation, and the Governor has chosen an Opposition member to form the new Ministry.

The Anti-Confederation minority in the Upper House have sent in a protest against the Address to the Queen favouring Confederation. Great popular excitement prevails.

MEXICO.

NEW YORK, April 10.—Mexican advices, via New Orleans, state that the camp of Cortinas at San Fernando had been broken up. The Imperialists had occupied Monterey, Loredo, and Pedras Negras.

SPAIN AND SOUTH AMERICA.

PANAMA, April 1.—The Spaniards have captured a Chilean transport, with 250 troops, south of the island of Chiloe, and the allied fleet is reported to be blockaded by the Spanish frigates *Numancia* and *Bianca*, in an inlet near Ancud, in the same island. The Allies have sunk a vessel in the channel of the inlet, and stretched chains across to prevent the Spaniards approaching.

HUNGARY.

PESTH, April 20.—The conference between the joint-committee of the Hungarian Diet and the deputation from the Diet of Croatia held its first formal sitting here this morning to negotiate on the question of the union of Croatia with Hungary.

General harmony prevailed, and a favourable result is expected from the negotiations.

M. Deak has quite recovered.

THE PRINCIPALITIES.

JASSY, April 20.—A renewal of disturbances is apprehended. The troops are confined to their barracks.

NEW ZEALAND.

We have been favoured with the following copy of a telegram which Mr Morrison, London agent for the New Zealand Government, has received this morning:

"The war is ended. The Governor is making a tour through the interior of the Northern Island, and is everywhere well received by the natives.

"The yield of gold is still increasing. Last month over 100,000 ounces were produced."

HEROIC VIRTUE AT BRIDGEWATER.—Henry Osborne, a whipthong maker and an elector, examined, said: I was canvassed by Mr Westropp, Mr Lilly (an auctioneer), and Mr Vesey (a solicitor). I told him I was "buff," which is the Liberal colour. On the 9th of July my daughter made a communication to me, the result of which was that I saw Mr Vesey in my parlour. He asked me if I would vote for Mr Westropp, and I said, "No." He said, "Will you for 5*l*?" I said, "No." "Will you for 10*l*?" "No." "For 15*l*?" "No." He then said, "I will tell you what I will do. Mind, we must have no splitting votes; plump for Westropp and we shall give you four smackers—20*l*." I said, "I will not take the money." He said, "You are a very foolish man; 20*l* is very useful in a family." I said, "I know the value of 20*l* as well as most men, but if I cannot get it in an honest way than that I will not have it at all. Suppose I were to take the money and it was found out, it would subject me to six months' imprisonment, and would unseat the member." He said it would never be found out, and I then told him that I had promised my vote and would not break my word; but he said that was nothing, there were many on the other side who had done that. I said, "If you gave me 2,000*l* I would not do it," to which he replied, "I should not like to offer you that for fear you should take it." My daughter Ann came into the room while we were talking, and Mr Vesey said to her, "I have almost succeeded." She said, "Father, don't take the money." I said I should not. Afterwards my two daughters went to bid Mr Vesey good night, and he said to me, "I think you are a very foolish man not to take 20*l*," to which my daughter Ann replied "What's 20*l*; I could spend that in a dress." I voted for Kinglake and Shelly.

THE CANNON-STREET MURDER.

William Smith, alias Denton, aged twenty-five, described as a labourer, living in Eton square, Eton, was brought before the Lord Mayor on Wednesday, charged with having, on the night of the 11th instant, willfully murdered one Sarah Millson, whose maiden name was Swann, on the premises of Messrs Bevington and Sons, of Cannon street, City.

The prisoner was arrested on Tuesday, at 6 Eton square, Eton, a turning leading out of High street, where he lodged with his mother and sisters. The house was entered, when it was found that the accused was not in; he was, however, fetched from a neighbouring workshop, by Police-constable Clark, and immediately arrested by the City police. The clothes which the prisoner was wearing were found to be partially spotted with blood, as were also those ascertained to have been worn by him during a recent visit to London.

The prisoner, upon being put into the dock, appeared totally indifferent to the serious charge against him. He is rather a gentlemanly looking man, of dark complexion, and standing about five feet eleven inches high.

Mr Wontner prosecuted, and Mr Scarth defended the prisoner.

Mr Wontner, in opening the case, said he had been instructed by Messrs Bevington to lay before his lordship the circumstances under which a murder took place on the 11th inst. on their premises. The deceased woman at the time of the murder was a widow. She had been in the employ of Messrs Bevington for some considerable time. It appeared that the deceased had been subjected to great annoyance for some time past by an individual who went for the purpose of extorting money from her. She used to make it a point after the premises were closed of answering the door herself, for the purpose of preventing any one seeing the person who thus importuned. On the night in question the deceased went downstairs to a man at the door, and was never afterwards seen alive. Since her death a letter had been found in her box, which he (Mr Wontner) would show had been written by the prisoner, and what was more, he believed he should be able to show that the prisoner was the person who had committed the murder. It appeared that the deceased was acquainted with a Sarah Webber, from whom she borrowed 30l., but as the deceased did not return the money the prisoner suggested that he could get the money back. It appeared that he accordingly went to see the deceased, producing a letter purporting to have been written by a man named George Terry, but which in fact was written by the prisoner himself, empowering the prisoner to act as the agent of Mrs Webber, to get the money from the deceased. The prisoner had subsequently admitted that he had written the letter. It appeared that the prisoner did nothing for his livelihood. He would not work. When apprehended by the police he said he knew what they wanted with him, and contented himself, when told of the charge, by saying he was innocent. He was then arrested on the charge of murder, and he (Mr Wontner) would produce sufficient evidence to warrant a remand.

Sarah Lowe, the cook in the employ of Messrs Bevington, was then called. She deposed.—I am cook to Messrs Bevington and Sons, 2 Cannon street West. They are wholesale leather sellers. Sarah Millson was the housekeeper there. I have been there nine years last September. The deceased went there at the same time. Her husband was in the same service. He resided with her till his death, on the 9th of November. The premises are closed at seven in the evening, and after that hour they remained in the charge of myself and the deceased. For some time past, after the premises had been closed, I often heard a ring at the bell, and the deceased always answered it. She always would go to answer the bell. On Wednesday last, the 11th, there was a ring at the bell about ten minutes past nine. The deceased went down to answer it, and I did not see her again till a quarter-past ten, and at that hour I went downstairs. I found the front door closed, and the deceased was lying at the foot of the stairs. [At this stage of the examination the witness was deeply affected, and nearly fainted.]

Examination continued.—She was lying on the ground, on her back, her head against some bales, and her feet towards the stairs. I spoke to her, but, receiving no answer, I found she was dead.

Cross-examined.—I opened the street door and called a policeman in. The constable, 467, came to my assistance. The deceased told me upon one occasion that a man had called and demanded some money. She appeared excited, and asked me to give her a sovereign to give to him. This is about two months ago. I know the time the deceased went downstairs, because I looked at the dining-room clock. The deceased only spoke to me upon one occasion when a

man called for the money. She seemed frightened, like any one who might be asked for money, and had not got it.

Examination continued.—Upon that occasion I looked out of the window, and saw a man get into a cab. The deceased told me she had never heard from the man who called that night. Upon another occasion, the day following, a gentleman called, and I lent the deceased 2l. to give him.

John Moss, a detective sergeant of the City Police, went to 6 Eton square, Eton, accompanied by Inspector Piermann, of the Eton College Police, leaving Hancock outside. The prisoner's mother opened the door to us, and from what she said we went to a shop at the back, and then returned to the house. There we went into the front parlour and found the prisoner. I asked if his name was William Smith. He said it was. I asked when he was last in London. He replied, "On the 10th of January, with my mother." I showed him the receipt signed "W. Denton, for George Terry," and asked if it was in his handwriting. He said, "Yes, it is. I now know what you mean." The inspector was in uniform. "I wrote (the prisoner added) a note for a man and took it to her for him." His mother came into the room and asked what this all meant. The prisoner was then present. I asked him in his mother's presence whether he was in London last week. The prisoner said, "Let my mother answer you." His mother said she thought not. I asked her what time her son came home last Wednesday night. She said she could not recollect the time; she was in bed, but she usually let him in at night. I asked when she last saw him on that day. She said she could not recollect where he was on the Wednesday; that he had been a trial to her and would never do anything.

The prisoner (interposing) said the conversation with his mother did not take place in his presence.

Witness said it did, and continued.—His mother said, "He won't work, and that is the reason he has only one shirt, and I thought I would make him work to get another." The prisoner, who heard this, made no observation. I searched the house and found a coat, waistcoat, and a pair of trousers, all apparently spotted with blood. I have no doubt about its being blood. I found a black "billycock" hat, also two neckties, and a mourning ring, which ring he said belonged to his late brother, who was formerly confidential clerk to Mr Jones, of 10 Aldermanbury. I asked his mother where his shirts were. She said he only had one. I asked how he got it washed. She replied, "I wash it while he is in bed." I told him I was a detective officer of the City of London, and should charge him on suspicion with murdering Sarah Millson on the night of Wednesday last, at 2 Cannon street, City. The prisoner said, "That is a very serious charge indeed; I am as innocent as a baby. I have not been in London since the 1st of February, when I called on a Mr Fuggle, at 10 Aldermanbury, about some money that is due to me. My brother lent him 10l. I first went with that letter (the letter signed George Terry) the latter part of last year. I called about three o'clock in the afternoon. She was washing up the things. I believe it was either Thursday or Friday the first time I went. She told me to come on Saturday, and I called on the Saturday." I asked him if he wrote that receipt on the letter signed "W. Denton." He said, "Yes; it's no good denying that, you can prove my handwriting." I asked why he signed "W. Denton." He said he sometimes used that name. I asked how many times he had called on Mrs Millson. He said, "Three times; she has paid me two sovereigns, and I wrote her a receipt each time; I knew it was all wrong about the money, and I knew Terry was not entitled to it; that is the reason I did not sign my right name to the receipt." I explained to him and to his mother that it was most important for him to show that he was not in London on Wednesday night last, about ten o'clock, and I asked him to refer me to any person who could prove he was not in London at that time. He said he with a Mr Harris, a hatter, at Eton, until about half-past seven. He said he then went out for a walk and met some man whose name he did not mention.

The prisoner said he did mention the name. Witness continued.—He might have mentioned the name, but if he did I have forgotten it. He mentioned it afterwards on our way to Bow-lane police station. He said he was going to some meeting with a friend, and his friend went to the meeting, but he did not. I eventually brought the prisoner to London and lodged him at the Bow-lane police station, where I made the present charge against him. He said he was innocent.

By Mr Scarth.—The prisoner at once admitted the letter to be written by him, and he made no attempt whatever to get away. I saw Mr Harris, but did not ascertain that the prisoner was with him until half-past seven o'clock on the Wednesday night. I inquired of the police, and heard he was seen going in the direction of his house

between twelve and one o'clock in the morning. I cannot say whether that is true. I have made a great many inquiries in London, but it would not be desirable to state the result of them at present. He told me from first to last that he was innocent. The clothes have not been analyzed yet. He did not say how the blood had got upon them. I did not ask him that question. The mother was present all the time I was there.

Mr Wontner, for the prosecution, said that was all the evidence he was then able to adduce, and asked to have the prisoner remanded.

Mr Scarth, for the defence, said if the prisoner were remanded he should be able to prove conclusively that he never was out of Eton on the day or night of the murder. He had been taken up on a mere suspicion. No doubt it was wrong for him to have written such a letter as that in the name of Terry to the deceased; but there was not a tittle of evidence to show that he was near the place on the night of the murder, or that he knew anything about it. It would take him an hour at least to go each way between Eton and London, and he should show, by time-tables and by the evidence of respectable persons in Eton that the prisoner could not have been in London at the time of the murder.

The Lord Mayor said, under the circumstances, he should remand the prisoner until Thursday in next week.

After Smith left the Justice room of the Mansion house on Wednesday he was placed among fourteen other men, some of whom had been brought in from the street indiscriminately, and passed with them along a corridor below the court, in which a young woman had been provisionally stationed. As they passed before her she selected the prisoner from among the whole number, and will be called as a witness at the next examination. She is housekeeper at a house adjoining that of Messrs Bevington, and about ten o'clock on the night of the murder she had gone out on an errand. On her return, in less than a quarter of an hour afterwards, and as she was entering her master's door, she heard Messrs Bevington's front door slammed violently, and saw a man leave their premises by it. When called as a witness she will state whether or not she has any belief as to who the man was. The circumstance of a man leaving at that hour struck her as unusual, and she mentioned it to a fellow servant when she entered the house, looking at a clock as she did so. It was then a quarter past ten, and it will be recollected that this was exactly the time at which Messrs Bevington's cook, concerned at the prolonged absence of the deceased, went downstairs to learn the cause of it, and found her dead and the body still warm.

Finding, on the morning after the murder, among the deceased's papers, a letter addressed to her in the name of George Terry, and put in evidence at the Mansion house on Wednesday, the police learnt that a man named Terry had some years ago been employed under the Messrs Bevington, at their mills in Bermondsey, and was likely to have been acquainted with Millson, the husband of the deceased, who had also been employed there, and likewise with the deceased herself, but the firm knew nothing of what had become of him. The letter was without date or address, and though an address was attached to the receipt on the back of it for 11, which the deceased had paid, it proved to be a false one. In little more than twelve hours after the murder Inspector Hamilton and Sergeant Moss, of the City detective police, found the man of whom they were in quest—namely, Terry—at a workhouse in Bermondsey. He was not then at all likely to have heard of the murder, for it did not become generally known until the evening of that day. For some time they did not produce the letter before him, nor tell him who they were, or what was their object. Indeed, they partly suspected at that time that he was concerned in the murder. After a long interview, in which little or nothing was disclosed by him, they left him for the night and returned to see him next morning. On the second interview he was shown the letter purporting to have been written by him to Mrs Millson, and before they parted he explained that, before he was an inmate of the workhouse, he had become acquainted with a young man as a public-house at which singing entertainments were given in the evenings, that they afterwards lodged together at a house in Kent street, Botolph Claydon; and that in the course of their acquaintance Terry disclosed some of his private affairs to him, and among others the loan transaction of 30l. odd to the housekeeper of Messrs Bevington, which he had procured for her and which she had not repaid; and that the young man, whose name he did not then know, undertook to get the money for him. On hearing of the murder from them Terry gave further information, and ultimately accompanied Sergeant Moss and Police-constable Hancock, detective officers, to Eton on Tuesday last, thus becoming instrumental to the apprehension of the man who now stands charged on suspicion with the murder.

NEW THEATRE ROYAL, ADELPHI. Sole Proprietor and Manager, Mr B. WEBSTER. The Celebrated Drama of THE WRECK ASHORE. The highly-successful New Opera Bouffe (Music by the popular J. Offenbach) of CRYING JENNY AND LAUGHING JOHNNY, and ICI ON PABLE FRANCAIS every Evening. On Monday and during the week, ICI ON PABLE FRANCAIS. CAIS. Messrs J. L. Toole, R. Phillips, Billington, Miss A. Scaman and Miss E. Kelly. After which CRYING JENNY AND LAUGHING JOHNNY. Messrs J. L. Toole and W. H. Eburne; Miss Furtado and Mrs Alfred Mellon. And THE WRECK ASHORE. Messrs J. L. Toole, P. Bedford, Billington, Stuart, Ashley; Miss H. Simms and Mrs A. Mellon. Commence at Seven.

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THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT EXHIBITION, SOUTH KENSINGTON, is now OPEN to the PUBLIC. Admission on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, 1s. each person; Tuesdays, 3s. 6d. Hours from 10 a.m. till 6 p.m. Season Tickets at 21 each.

ART-UNION of LONDON.—The Annual General Meeting to receive the Council's Report and to distribute the Amount Subscribed for the purchase of Works of Art, will be held at the New Theatre Royal, Adelphi, on Tuesday, April 24th, at half-past Eleven for Twelve o'clock, by the kind permission of Benjamin Webster, Esq. The receipt for the current year will procure admission for members and friends. GEORGE GODWIN, Hon. Secy. No. 444 West Strand. LEWIS FOCOCK, Secy.

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LIVERPOOL—Brown's Buildings, Exchange. At the ANNUAL MEETING, held 17th inst., at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street Within, it was stated that the

FIRE Premiums for 1865 amounted to £122,418 Losses £74,413

It was also reported that the Fire Premiums for 1862 and 1865 amounted to £90,296 for 1864 and 1865 £231,013 Showing an Increase in two years of over 150 per Cent., or £140,717

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ARMY CONTRACTS. Deputy Commissary-General's Office, Aldershot, 14th April, 1866.

TENDERS will be received at this Office, until 12 o'clock (noon) on Tuesday the 8th May next, from persons who may be willing to enter into Contracts for the supply of FLOUR (Station and Hospital), 'CONES' for distilling leaves, and MEAT, in such quantities as may be required for six months, from 1st June to 30th November, 1866, for the use of Her Majesty's Forces stationed at Aldershot Camp, and within the Command.

THE CREDIT FONCIER and MOBILIER of ENGLAND (Limited). Copies of the Half-Yearly Report and Balance Sheet, issued to the Shareholders, can be had on application at the Company's Offices on and after Monday next.

THE CREDIT FONCIER AND MOBILIER OF ENGLAND, LIMITED. NOTICE is HEREBY GIVEN, that the ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of this COMPANY will be held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate street, London, on Wednesday, the 25th of April, at Twelve o'clock (noon) precisely, for the purpose of receiving the Directors' and Auditors' Report and Balance Sheet, and for declaring a Dividend.

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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. CCXXXVIII, is published THIS DAY.

- CONTENTS: I. Sir Joshua Reynolds. II. Children's Employment Commission. III. Poor Judges of England. IV. Coal and Smoke. V. Science of Language. VI. St Patrick and the Irish Church. VII. Female Education. VIII. Ecco Homo. IX. The Government Reform Bill.

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